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IN MEMORIAM

George C. Schoolfield 1925–2016

George C. Schoolfield was Professor of German and Scandinavian Literature at Yale University from 1969 until his retirement in 1995. Prior to his distinguished career at Yale, he taught at Harvard, Duke University, and the University of Pennsylvania.

Schoolfield was well known for his high-quality research on German literature, which yielded several books, including *The Figure of the Musician in German Literature*, *The German Lyric of the Baroque in English Translation*, and *Rilke's Last Year*.

However, it is probably accurate to say of George Schoolfield's oeuvre that Scandinavian literature was quite close to his heart and undoubtedly closest was Finnish and Finland-Swedish literature. Two of his highly influential books are in-depth studies of leading figures in early twentieth century Finland-Swedish modernism: *Edith Södergran: Modernist Poet in Finland* and *Elmer Diktonius*. He continued his research on Finland-Swedish literature until the very end, focusing on Runar Schildt. His book on Schildt will be published posthumously. He also selected and translated the stories and wrote an informative introduction to the anthology *Swedish-Finnish Short Stories*.

In the 1980s, Schoolfield published serious and timely articles in *Books from Finland*, in which he re-evaluated four legends in Finland's Swedish-language literature: Finland's national poet J. L. Runeberg; the other literary giant of the nineteenth century, Zacharias Topelius; the tempestuous Elmer Diktonius; and the "outsider" Runar Schildt.

One of Schoolfield's most celebrated books is *Helsinki of the Czars: Finland's Capital, 1808–1918*, published in 1996, which provides a comprehensive account of how Helsinki, Helsingfors in Swedish, underwent radical changes as the capital of the autonomous Grand Duchy of Finland. The subject matter afforded Schoolfield the opportunity to trace how Helsinki transitioned from a multilingual cosmopolitan metropolis, where Swedish was then the *lingua franca*, to a place where the Finnish language had become not only favored, but assumed its demographically rightful role as the majority language of the capital of a country where more than an 80 percent majority of the population spoke Finnish. Schoolfield offers a critical and thought-provoking analysis of the social stratification, the emerging industry and institutions, and the transforming cultural attitudes.

A History of Finland's Literature is another influential book Schoolfield edited and partly wrote. It is today the leading reference book in English on the history of Finland's literatures. In addition to the chapters penned by Professor Schoolfield, particularly those on the Finland-Swedish literature, this volume of nearly 900 pages features chapters by several other distinguished specialists on various literary periods.

The *Kalevala* was yet another focus of Schoolfield's interests. He wrote the insightful and informative introduction to Eino Friberg's translation of the *Kalevala*, published in 1988. Schoolfield's endorsement of this project was crucial and significantly responsible for the resulting success. His involvement included editing, the contribution of valuable commentary, and vital encouragement along the way.

Schoolfield's service to the discipline of Scandinavian Studies was hugely impactful. He served as editor and review editor of *Scandinavian Studies* from 1969 to 1984. He wrote extensively for the *Swedish Book Review*. Schoolfield was also a founding member of the editorial board of the *Journal of Finnish Studies*, serving from 1997 until his death. Many remember Professor Schoolfield from his participation in five Finnish Studies in North America conferences organized by the Finnish Ministry of Education in 1975, 1980, 1986, 1991, and 1996. The author of this obituary remembers him especially from the conference in 1980 at the University of Minnesota and the one in 1996 at the University of Toronto, both of which he had the privilege of organizing. Very appropriately, Schoolfield was awarded, by Finland's government, the honor of Knight of the Order of the White Rose of Finland. The Swedish Academy bestowed on him similar honors.

Professor George C. Schoolfield was a learned man, exceedingly well-read, yet modest, cultured, and quietly confident. He was for a good reason called "the witty king of Scandinavian studies" by the *Swedish Book Review*. Many certainly agree with that designation. His writing was elegant, erudite, and indeed witty. He would construe sentences with impressive complexity without ever losing anything in clarity. His writings abound with stylistic joy and a wealth of allusions and cross-references to examples from world literature. It is pure joy to read George Schoolfield's texts: they exude a rich and perhaps caustic humor, and sarcastic but honest assessments of a plethora of phenomena as well as a never-ending wit.

We honor the memory of a model scholar and a gentle colleague.

Börje Vähämäki

EDITORIAL

In this year, the hundredth anniversary of Finland's independence, the *Journal of Finnish Studies* celebrates its own milestone. The year 2017 marks the twentieth year since the founding of the journal. Twenty years ago, in 1997, our founding editor, Börje Vähämäki, in his *raison d'être* on the opening pages of the very first issue wrote the following words:

Do we really need another academic journal in this age of dizzying expansion of information technology and new venues for dissemination of information? The ultimate answer as it applies to the new *Journal of Finnish Studies* will be available only in the next millennium. Only then can we assess the discipline's vitality by the quality and versatility of articles submitted for publication and by the size of the readership. (Vähämäki 1997: 3)

As we now are well into the twenty-first century, the current issue of the journal's twentieth volume stands as evidence that, two decades ago, its entry into the field of scholarship was well justified. *JoFS* has grown to be a substantial academic venue, with a wide number of university libraries among its subscribers. *JoFS*'s ranking by Finland's Publication Forum (Julkaisufoorumi) continues to be high (JUFO-2), and it has become a desired outlet for Finnish scholars as well as for researchers worldwide. The *Journal of Finnish Studies* is still the only scholarly, interdisciplinary journal that brings research about Finnish topics to an English-language audience, and our rigorous peer-review process guarantees the quality of the product. This issue, *JoFS* 20 (2), concludes our twentieth volume, and our plans to continue to serve our readership are strong.

Vähämäki's viability test regarding the versatility of submitted and published articles is met amply by the current issue. Here we bring to our readers a refreshing array of nine articles, and while we continue with familiar themes such as the

migrations of Finns (with the focus on both North America and Sweden), this issue also introduces the reader to new topics on which little has previously been published in English. We are proud to be the avenue through which this research finds a voice in the English-language world.

The collection here begins with Maria Lähteenmäki's lead article, which offers a political profile of Finland's first female president, Tarja Halonen (2000–2012). Halonen was a popular and respected president, and Lähteenmäki's article provides a welcome introduction to her two terms as the head of Finland.

Erik Hieta's article, "Finns and Finnicans: Walter Mattila and the Ethnic Dilemma of Second-Generation Finnish Americans," introduces a newspaperman and editor who sought the preservation of Finnish heritage among ethnic Finns of the diaspora. The assimilation process for second-generation Finnish Americans is at the heart of Hieta's article—a topic that will certainly find interested readers among today's migrants as well.

With the focus on Finnish Canadian writers Nelma Sillanpää and Aili Grönlund Schneider, Samira Saramo continues the Finnish North American literary theme. Finnish Great Lakes identities find their expression in the landscapes of lakes, rock, and forest.

Hanna Snellman and Lotta Weckström, in "The Apple Never Falls Far from the Tree—Or does It? Finnish Female Migrant Transnational Generations on the Swedish Labor Market," introduce us to two generations of Finnish migrants, mothers and daughters, in Sweden. The interviews of these women open up a window to their lives and to their identities. The relationship between identity and the mastery of the majority language is also discussed.

The theme of Finland and Sweden continues in Päivi Granö and Anniina Koivurova's article, which looks at the border region of northern Finland and Sweden during the post-World War II era. During the war, Finnish people were evacuated into Sweden, and the border became porous, affecting, again, identities. Granö and Koivurova use children's drawings as reflections of how they perceived their homes and their lives after the tumultuous years of dislocation and uncertainty.

The following three articles, by Tiina Brandt, Maria Järnlström and Tiina Brandt, and Susanna Kultalahti, respectively, provide the clearest reflection of the versatility called for by Vähämäki. These articles take the reader to new areas of Finnish research: to the world of business. Brandt reports on her interviews with entrepreneurs and analyzes their perceptions of economic decline. In their "Psychological Capital and Psychological Career Mobility among Finnish Business

School Graduates,” Järleström and Brandt discuss the kinds of characteristics that might be helpful for career mobility. Kultalahti’s article again takes a look at Finnish Generation Y in the workplace and the kinds of changes that this generation is bringing into the business world. These contributors have affiliations with the University of Vaasa or the Tampere University of Applied Sciences, and we are happy to make these articles available to our readers so that they, too, can have insights into Finland’s business world and its sociology.

The final chapter, “*Kuutamosonaatti* (The moonlight sonata): Reproducing Anti-Idyllic Rural Representations in a Finnish Popular Film,” by Aapo Jumppanen and Timo Suutari provides an interesting analysis of this Finnish horror film, directed by Olli Soinio. Jumppanen and Suutari discuss how the rural is depicted in movies, and in *Kuutamosonaatti* in specific. This chapter provides a welcome visit to the world of Finnish film—a popular topic among our readers as proven by the interest in our earlier Kaurismäki articles and theme issue.

During FinnFest USA 2017 in Minneapolis, MN, this past September, the *Journal of Finnish Studies* was invited to participate in a panel entitled “Finnish American Writing and Publishing” with a co-presentation on “The Finnish North American Literature Association and the *Journal of Finnish Studies* Keeping Finnish American Writing Alive and Published.” Dr. Beth Virtanen from FinNALA and I were fortunate to be able to share with our audience our respective histories, missions, and futures. We thank the FinnFest organizers for this opportunity, and we also thank everyone who came to see our table at the Tori. It was good to meet our supporters, both old and new.

During its twenty years, *JoFS* has traveled from its launching site at the University of Toronto, via Finlandia University in Hancock, Michigan, to Sam Houston State University in Huntsville, Texas, where it has found a supportive home and where work for many more issues is already underway. Our next issue is Finland’s centennial issue and is entitled *Leading to Finland’s Independence: The Time of the Grand Duchy of Finland, 1809–1917*. This will be a special double issue, and you may secure your copy by renewing your subscription—either by writing to the Editorial Office or by visiting the following PayPal link: http://www.shsu.edu/eng_ira/finnishstudies/JFS_subs_and_ads.html.

Thank you for your continued support. You, our readers, ensure that Vähämäki’s final test of viability is met: a sustaining, and, as we hope, a growing audience of readers.

This issue is dedicated to the memory of Professor George C. Schoolfield, one of our founding editorial board members, a remarkable scholar, and a keen proponent of the field of Finnish studies.

REFERENCE

Vähämäki, Börje. 1997. "Raison d'être: Editorial." *Journal of Finnish Studies* 1 (1): 3–4.

Helena Halmari

A POLITICAL PROFILE OF TARJA HALONEN, THE FIRST FINNISH FEMALE PRESIDENT

Maria Lähteenmäki
University of Eastern Finland

ABSTRACT

Neither historiographers nor social scientists have paid much attention to the position of women among the highest political elite, as heads of state and especially as presidents. Such women are rare: there are few female presidents, and their role is often ceremonial. At the end of 2016, there were four female presidents in the nineteen republics belonging to the European Union. Yet female presidency is a very important theme from the perspective of women's roles in politics, the trend toward gender equality, and female empowerment in society. This article takes a look at Finland's first female president, Tarja Halonen, who held office from March 2000 to February 2012. The Finnish president still has real political power, which makes this topic particularly interesting. On the one hand, the article examines the profile that emerged of President Tarja Halonen and the reflection of her gender in her work as president. On the other hand, the article looks to see whether she succeeded in challenging the male institution of the president to change, and whether she was able to fracture the glass ceiling that still exists between women—even in Europe—and the highest echelons of political power.

FEW POLITICALLY ELITE WOMEN

Most politicians, throughout the world, are men. During the time of Halonen's presidency, in 2010, the European Commission laconically reported that, despite numerous attempts to change this, "power is still in men's hands in the political and economic spheres" (*Report of Equality between Women and Men* 2010, 9). The proportion of women in the European Parliament had, admittedly, crept up to 35 percent, but it was only 24 percent on average in the national parliaments and only 26 percent

for female ministers in 2009 (47–50). On a global scale, women represented only about 14 percent of members of parliament in 2000 (Etzioni-Halevy 2004, xii). The report on women's participation in politics, "Women and Politics Worldwide," states that "in no country do women have political status, access, or influence equal to men's" (Nelson and Caudhurī 1994, 3). Etzioni-Halevy (2004), examining women and men among political and business elites, points out that "members of the elite—even in the industrialized democracies—have predominantly been men [. . .] and so have elite theorists been predominantly men as well; and this may explain, at least in part, why little or no interest has been evinced in the relative exclusion of women from positions of power" (xi).

The higher the level in the political hierarchy, the fewer women there are. In the entire world during the period of 1940 to 2011, a woman has held the title of *President* fifty-one times. Excluding presidencies lasting one year or less (Switzerland one year, San Marino and German Democratic Republic six months, Austria two days), six of these were in European Union member states (two from Ireland, and one apiece from Iceland, Latvia, Finland, and Lithuania). The majority of the female presidents have been in the Nordic countries and the Baltic region: Iceland, Finland, Latvia, and Lithuania. The number of female presidents began to rise from the 1970s onwards: during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, there were only three female "Acting Heads of State" in the entire world (Khertek Anchimaa-Toka, Tannu Tuva; Sühbaataryn Yanjmaa, Mongolia; and Song Qingling, China). In the 1970s, the number was three; 1980s, six; 1990s, sixteen; and in the 2000s, altogether nineteen. In addition, globally there have been some strong female prime ministers from the 1960s onwards, such as Indira Gandhi in India (1966–77), Golda Meir in Israel (1969–74), Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom (1979–90), Gro Harlem-Brundtland in Norway (1981, 1990–96), and Chancellor of Germany Angela Merkel (since 2005). In Finland, two heads of government have been women (2003 and 2010–11). This tied in with the broader socio-economic change and trend in democracy, as a result of which women gained a more visible status, especially in Western countries. The United Nations (UN) International Women's Year (1975) and Decade for Women (1976–85) drew increasing attention to women's lack of power. However, a collapse occurred after that; in 2010–11, only six women were acting as president in the world. Most of these female presidents did not have real power (Nelson and Caudhurī 1994, 9).

At the end of Halonen's presidency in 2012, of all the world's female presidents, the longest in power had been Iceland's Vigdís Finnbogadóttir (16 years).

The presidency of Iceland is, however, mainly ceremonial. In spite of that, Iceland's president has a right to veto legislation and the possibility to claim a referendum. The other long-term presidents have been Ireland's Mary McAleese (13 years) and Halonen (12 years). More female presidents would appear to have been elected in the small European states than in other countries of the world, and they have held the position longer. As of March 2012, the European Union consisted of nineteen republics and eight monarchies: only one of the republics (Lithuania) had a female president. In monarchies, women's position was better: in three countries—Denmark (Margrethe II since 1972), the Netherlands (Beatrix 1980–2013), and Great Britain (Elizabeth II since 1952)—the ruler was a queen (*Female Presidents of the World* 2016; see also Skard 2014).

According to Samans and Zahidi (2016), four Nordic countries (Iceland, Finland, Norway, and Sweden) appear to lead the world in gender equality:

Countries of the Top Ten	Final Ranking
Iceland	1
Finland	2
Norway	3
Sweden	4
Rwanda	5
Ireland	6
Philippines	7
Slovenia	8
New Zealand	9
Nicaragua	10

Table 1. A worldwide gender gap ranking list of 144 countries in 2016. Source: Samans and Zahidi (2016). Ranking by regions. World Economic Forum reports. weforum.org (accessed December 15, 2016).

The major powers clearly lag behind the Nordic countries in gender equality: the United Kingdom came in twentieth, Canada was thirty-fifth, the United States forty-fifth, and Russia seventy-fifth in the final ranking list (Samans and Zahidi 2016). All in all, women in countries where they enjoy a high social status seem to stand a better chance of being elected president.

Women's access to the pinnacles of power is regulated by cultural, religious, and socio-economic factors operating at many levels—factors that have long been more favorable to women in the Nordic countries than elsewhere. The political empowerment component, for example, comprises three elements: the number of

women in parliaments, the number of female ministers, and the number of years in office of women as heads of state and as prime ministers. During the reign of President Halonen, all these variables were high in the Nordic countries and Ireland (Hausman, Tyson, and Zahidi 2011, 56). In those days, however, surprisingly few women were elected head of state even in the European republics founded on representational democracy and a striving for equality: as of April 2012, only one of the nineteen EU republics had an elected female president (Dalia Grybauskaitė in Lithuania). Moreover, Eveline Widmer-Schlumpf was appointed as Switzerland's ceremonial president in January 2012.

This article seeks to afford a historiographic perspective on female presidency by presenting and analyzing the political profile and status of Tarja Halonen in a male-dominated political regime, and in her role as a female president. The Finnish president is not just a ceremonial head of state; Halonen also held true political power and in this sense differed from many other female presidents. The Finnish president directs foreign policy in collaboration with the Council of State (Cabinet) and decides on Finland's foreign relations and participation in international organizations and negotiations. The president is also commander-in-chief of the Finnish Defense Forces.

This article draws mainly on the public writings and speeches of President Halonen and critiques of her performance from the 1980s to the 2010s. Halonen is not at all a person who has written a lot—on the contrary. After her years as a president, one journalist said on TV about the new male president, Sauli Niinistö, that it is nice to have a new president who can write. The frame of my article is based on the president's official Speeches of the New Year from 2001 to 2012, which are addressed to all Finnish citizens (via the live transmissions) and the speeches that the president gave yearly during the Opening of the Parliamentary Seasons from 2000 to 2011. Halonen herself claims that she is personally accountable for her statements: even during her term as president she wrote down what she was going to say in the old-fashioned way, by hand, and her aides then edited the text and entered it on computer (Bardy 2012; Jääskeläinen and Pekkola 2000, 21). That fact offers a sense of a personal touch to Halonen's texts, and they are therefore fruitful sources for close reading. In this case, the analysis was made not of her written speeches as such but of the political profile they reveal of her as a female president. In order for her views to be understood in a broader context, the first section looks at her personal and political background.

The theoretical frame of reference for this article is the discussion of the extent to which a representative of the people in a parliamentary democracy—such as Finland—should resemble the electorate. My first premise is based on the view put forward by the Dutch historian Frank Ankersmit (2002, 112) that for political representation even to be possible, the persons representing the people should differ from their voters. The extent to which this can be applied to the presidency will be examined here via the case of Tarja Halonen. My second premise is that the person for study is specifically a Nordic woman and not someone from, for example, Central or Southern Europe. Nordic society has a character of its own and a long political tradition of gender equality that differs from that in other European countries.

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT

So far the greatest international equality achievement of Finland has been the 1906 granting to women of the right to vote and to stand for election. Finland was the first country in Europe to do so and the third in the world (after New Zealand in 1893 and Australia in 1902). Contrary to those countries, Finnish women immediately made use of this right (Sulkunen, Lähteenmäki, and Korppi-Tommola 2006). Iceland, in turn, elected the first Nordic female president in 1980. As mentioned earlier, the Nordic countries rank highest in the world for gender equality. The reasons for this may be sought, especially since the nineteenth century, in the Lutheran Church, which advocated the development of literacy among boys and girls alike, and in the comprehensive school system. Meanwhile, the structure of the Nordic economies, with their small farms and fishing families, was conducive to economic partnership and equality between men and women. The non-governmental organizations (especially the temperance and women's organizations), active from an early date, may also explain the high degree of Nordic equality. Evidence of this is the fact that women were granted the right to vote in and to stand for parliamentary election early on in the Nordic countries, that women immediately stood for election, and that they were also elected members of parliament (Table 2). The Nordic countries have, furthermore, also all been characterized by the strong position of moderate Social Democrat parties: the workers' movement campaigned strongly for gender equality from the late nineteenth century onwards (Fougner and Larsen-Asp 1994; Lähteenmäki 1999).

Country	Right to Vote Year	1944–46 %	1970–73 %	1990–93 %	2001–04 %
Finland	1906	9	22	39	38
Norway	1913	5	24	39	38
Denmark	1915	5	17	34	37
Sweden	1921	8	14	33	45
Great Britain	1928	4	4	9	18
France	1944	6	2	6	12

Table 2. Women's right to vote and be elected (year) and the percentage (%) of women in the parliaments of certain European states 1944–2004. Source: Lähteenmäki 2006, 87.

A global examination also places the Nordic countries in a favorable light:

Region	%
Nordic Countries	41.1
Other European Countries	24.3
Sub-Saharan Africa	23.1
Central American Countries	21.6
Asia	18.8
Arab Countries	17.5
Pacific Region	15.8

Table 3. The global participation of women in national parliaments (%) on Feb 1, 2016. Source: *Women in National Parliaments*. The Inter-Parliamentary Union. <http://ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm> (accessed March 10, 2016).

Despite Finland's high ranking in the equality charts, at the start of Halonen's first term in office (2001), the "Finnish Equality Barometer" revealed that 85 percent of women and 66 percent of men were of the opinion that Finnish men enjoyed a higher status in Finland than Finnish women (Nieminen 2008, 14). Men also clearly dominate the Finnish presidency: Tarja Halonen was preceded by ten male presidents, and her successor is again a man.

DOUBLY MARGINALIZED: WORKING-CLASS BACKGROUND AND A WOMAN

The general trend in democracy in the Nordic countries does not alone explain Tarja Halonen's rise to Finland's presidency; her personal political choices must also be taken into account. Membership in the Social Democratic Party of Finland (SDP) is, in this respect, very important, as is the fact that although Tarja Halonen is a strong

supporter of women's rights, she has not posed as a strict feminist. In the 1990s, before being elected president, she wrote that class background is more decisive than gender in making political decisions (Halonen 1994a). This placing of *class* above *gender* has been one of the focal determinants of her political activity.

To what extent, then, did Tarja Halonen differ in Ankersmit's (2002) terms from her voters? Tarja Halonen is the product of a slightly urbanized Finland, the first Finnish president to be born in the capital, Helsinki, or indeed any Finnish town. The former presidents came all from countryside. She was born in the Helsinki working-class district of Kallio in 1943, during the war between Finland and the Soviet Union. The name of the district, Kallio, means "Rock" and epitomizes both the physical rock on which it stands and the social state of the community, its struggle for subsistence, and its left-wing political orientation. When Halonen was born, her building-worker father was fighting on the front and her mother went out to work. After the war, in 1944, her parents' marriage ended in divorce. Her father is said to have stepped out to buy a newspaper, and he never returned (Lehtilä 2005, 18). The shortage of money when she was a child, the roughness of the district where she lived, and the influence of her strong mother are reflected in her worldview and actions. Her mother was, she says, a born survivor, active and determined to get on in life. A woman who valued good, humble, working folk, honesty, and justice—in other words, the very things Tarja Halonen later stressed as a minister and a member of parliament. In Halonen's view, women occupied an important role in the work of society, above all as moulders of ossified attitudes, and because "a certain fighting spirit is good in a woman"¹ (Lähteenmäki 2006, 179–81).

Tarja Halonen has been described as flinty: one speaker recalls that when he met her for the first time in the 1970s, she was already a hard-as-nails politician capable of fighting for political support in her own patch. She has also been described as a demanding boss and a shrew (Ketola 2000, 213). The articles about her paint a picture of a strictly matter-of-fact politician, determined and ambitious but also humane, tolerant, and kind. It has aptly been said of her that she is an interesting combination of an idealist and a realist, "in the same package" (Kolanen 2000, 55). She has been described as a persistent and tenacious advocate for her objectives, but not one entrenched in her ideals just to prove she is right (Sorsa 2000; Simula 2005).

Halonen ranked the profession of a politician highly. A year before she was elected president, she described her colleagues (members of parliament, MPs) as follows: "These public-spirited people spend their time working on behalf of others.

1 All translations into English are by Maria Lähteenmäki.

They are the salt of society” (Halonen 1999b; President Tarja Halonen’s Official Speeches in the Opening of the Parliamentary Season, February 7, 2012). During Finland’s presidency of the European Union (1999), Halonen reflected on her representative role: “Representing is, I have to say, too fine a word. What it means is working for others” (1999a). The view of the representative as a servant of the people has been a subject of debate among political scientists. As mentioned above, Ankersmit (2002) maintains that there must be a clear distinction, a gap, between representative and represented. Other views have, however, been put forward in the course of history: in the eighteenth century, the American John Adams claimed that the house of representatives and its members should be exact miniature replicas of the nation. A British contemporary of his, Edmund Burke, did not, however, agree, and claimed that the representative should have a certain autonomy in relation to his electorate, and the right to use his own judgment (see Vauhkonen 2008, 24). The idea of the representative as the servant of the people, working on others’ behalf, recurs in Halonen’s discourse. There is also a pinch of “sacrifice” thinking: the representative sacrifices his or her life for the nation. The vision of the representative as the electorate’s trustee (Manin 1997, 202–4) derives from the ancient classical concept of parliamentarism that was ousted as the mass parties became organized and party democracy emerged.

In order to understand Halonen’s view, we must first make a brief survey of the development of Finnish and European representational democracy. As the nineteenth century drew to an end, the house of representatives was no longer regarded as a miniature replica of the people; instead, MPs came to be looked up to as the nation’s elite and as not necessarily heeding the dictates of any party or the people. This may be called the period of *elite democracy*, according to the Finnish political scientist Heikki Paloheimo (2007, 362–63).

The emphasis on an elite democracy gradually crumbled in Finland as the mass parties, and especially the Social Democratic Party (SDP) of Finland, which Halonen represented, gained more and more influence. In contrast to the idea of representatives as elite, the mass parties began recruiting their representatives from all walks of society. The party-oriented thinking of the mass political parties gained an increasingly strong foothold, and the period from the 1940s right up to the 1980s may be called that of *party-led democracy*. The form of representational democracy then changed again, and the decades of the 1990s and 2000s could be called a period of *public democracy*, during which the media have occupied an important role in the election of representatives. In the manner typical of politicians of her era, Halonen

has not condemned the dumbing down of politics and presidential campaigns in the media (Uimonen 2001, 352); instead, she has made clever use of the media. In keeping with the political climate of the period, the editor-in-chief of a weekly magazine with a right-wing orientation wrote before the presidential elections in 2000: “The media are now singling out headstrong Tarja Halonen, who may well be a suitable President” (Ruokanen 1999, 9).

Like her contemporaries, Halonen also embraced the duality of party-led democracy—in other words, the right–left dimension—as her political framework, and she did not forsake it during her years as president. She joined the SDP in 1971 and was voted a member of parliament for this party in 1979; this served as a stepping-stone to her appointment as a cabinet minister and subsequently her election as president. By the time she was elected president, she had been an MP for twenty-one years. Her long experience was reflected in her performance as president, but also in the way she regarded herself as a servant of the people. Her view is thus surprisingly similar to the elite-democracy view of the late nineteenth century. Elite and public democracy both share a stronger personal slant on politics than in previous times and the viewing of the representative as a trustee empowered by the nation. Tarja Halonen’s view of herself as empowered by the nation while still being an independent representative was greatly reinforced during her term as president. She often impressed upon her critics that she had received her mandate “directly from the people” (Hämäläinen 2005b, 27). She also said she had signed twice a six-year “labor contract with the Finnish nation” (Lehtilä 2005, 101).

There are no analyses based on the history of her role as “servant of the nation” in the texts by Halonen herself. Heads of state and politicians commonly look to history for ideological models or to justify their actions. Ankersmit reminds us that as late as the nineteenth century, politicians were also historians (2002, 97). In this sense, Halonen seldom used historical examples as arguments in her speeches. There are no references either to history in her small volume of texts. In one debate on Finland’s future, she laconically dismissed the historical perspective, saying, “Finland does not go bragging of its past in Europe” (Järvinen 2006, 28). A good picture of her ideas and objectives can be obtained from her brief writings firmly rooted in day-to-day politics. They mostly concern her favorite topics: foreign relations, European integration, internationalization, women’s rights, changes in the nature of work, the state of culture, and the challenges facing the welfare society (Nykänen 2012, 33).

If Halonen, the lawyer, shows no signs of studying history, she is all the more dedicated to the work of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). This seems to

have been more a way of life for her than a hobby. She has, among other things, been involved with the solidarity movement and in defending human rights. Halonen wrote that criticizing people because of their cultural background, language, religion, or nationality is discrimination. It is a disease that infects the whole of society—not just the oppressors and the oppressed (Halonen 1999a). Even though Halonen did not belong during her presidency to the Lutheran Church (unlike the majority of the Finns), she has been actively involved in Christian work, such as the Finnish Federation of Settlements. Evidence of her tolerance comes from her positions of trust in the Finnish Society for Sexual Equality (SETA), which represents Finnish gay and lesbian communities, in the Anti-Racism Commission, and in the Advisory Board on Roma Affairs (Lähteenmäki 2004, 1).

Tarja Halonen's parents did not take an active part in politics—unlike the parents of many other women who have risen to the high echelons of society, for instance, Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi (Genovese 1993). However, she could see models of strong women within the workers' movement. Serving as her role models of the "hard female" might well be Miina Sillanpää and Tyyne Leivo-Larsson, two veterans of Finland's Social Democrat League for Women from 1900 onwards. Both came from poor families, rose to high cabinet posts, and thus served as trailblazers for female politicians. Miina Sillanpää was Finland's first female cabinet minister (1926) and Tyyne Leivo-Larsson Finland's first female ambassador, representing Finland in Norway from 1958 to 1965 (Lähteenmäki 2000, 189–93). These models and Halonen were all assertive and ambitious, they had a social frame of mind, and they all rose with ease to the front line of Finnish society. Another common denominator was their political pragmatism. Daily life, with all its cares and joys, is a clear feature of the writings of all three influential opinion-leaders.

All in all, the presence of everyday life is nothing strange in the work of Social Democrat women—on the contrary. The female activists of the party have put their everyday ideals into practice by focusing on practical measures, sometimes to such an extent that their male party colleagues have ordered them to revert to more ideological lines (Lähteenmäki 2000, 127, 202). The party has, on the other hand, supported women in their bid for party leadership; this was typical of the earliest workers' parties throughout Europe (Lähteenmäki 2006, 85). A case in point is the way Tellervo Koivisto, wife of a former Finnish President and herself a politician, urged the Social Democrat prime minister to put women "in the hot seat." Tarja

Halonen was indeed made foreign minister and “knew at once what to do” (Koivisto 2000, 83).

The career of Halonen, too, coincided with the peak 1970s years of democratic progress both in Finland and in the other Nordic countries. The merits of Halonen, a former trade-union lawyer (during the years 1970–79 she worked in the Central Organization of Finnish Trade Unions) were soon noticed in Parliament, and she was entrusted with numerous positions. She was, among others, chairman of the Social Committee (1984–87) and of the Law Committee (1991–95). She began her career as a cabinet minister in 1987 when she was appointed Minister of Social Affairs and Health, responsible for social welfare, alcohol policy, and equality. From 1989 to 1991, she was also Minister for Nordic Cooperation, and in 1990, she became Minister of Justice. Her cabinet career continued in 1995 as Finland’s first female Minister of Foreign Affairs right up until she was elected president. She already had a clear view of the president’s power back in the 1990s: “To my mind, the president should not be relegated to the role of some master of ceremonies. He or she, too, must have power” (Halonen 1994b).

THE HIGHEST PEAK OF THE CAREER PATH

The fact that Foreign Minister Tarja Halonen won the election by direct vote in February 2000, which made her Finland’s eleventh, and first female, president, came as a surprise to many. Admittedly her 40.0 percent share of the votes in the first round, as against the 34.4 percent for the candidate in second place (Centre Party leader Esko Aho) already pointed to the final outcome. In the close, decisive second round, Halonen won 51.6 percent of the votes and her opponent 48.4 percent, the election turnout for the whole country being 80.2 percent (*Statistics of the Presidential Elections in Finland* 2000). Halonen later described the occasion as follows: “At first people kept saying how amazed they were that a woman had been elected president, but they soon got over it. Democracy proceeds so fast, and that’s good. Something that at first has to be striven for is soon taken for granted” (Nykänen 2012, 33).

What made the election exciting was that Halonen did not at first sight seem to represent the model or values of the average Finn: she had a reputation for being a left-wing Social Democrat, her only child had been born out of wedlock, and she was living with a man who was her common-law husband (she was 57 and president by the time she and Pentti Arajärvi married). Also, she was not a member of the Finnish Lutheran church. Her down-to-earth demeanor, her informed comments,

and the impression she gave of being genuinely concerned nevertheless made her a more popular candidate than Esko Aho. The fact that she had been a single mother and a dynamic career woman with a working-class background further lent credibility to her appeals on behalf of the welfare society. It was no coincidence that more women than men turned out to vote in the 2000 presidential elections: 83.0 percent of women voted, as against 77.2 percent for men (*Statistic of the Presidential Elections in Finland* 2000). During the election campaign, Halonen's opponents tried to stress her Red political leanings, but this did not prove to be a significant factor. Many politicians and prominent figures right across the political spectrum publicly lent their support for her in the run-up to the election and specifically stressed that they would be voting for a person, not a party. A woman's path to the presidency had already been paved in the previous elections, when the Swedish Party's Elisabeth Rehn only narrowly lost to Social Democrat Martti Ahtisaari, who was President of Finland from 1994 until 2000 and was subsequently—in 2008—awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

The background, values, and attitudes of President Tarja Halonen were also reflected at the Finnish Independence Day reception she hosted on December 6, 2000. On the whole, the reception kept to the traditions of the host and hostess greeting each guest personally, followed by refreshments and dancing, but among the guests were more representatives than before of NGOs and the arts—in other words, people who had turned out *en masse* to get her elected. While the president's guests were celebrating in the Palace, a demonstration took place outside. The president's comment was, "There's room in the street for us all" (Lähteenmäki 2014).

Halonen remained unusually popular throughout her two terms. On March 1, 2001, at the end of her first year in office, a good 70 percent of the Finns said they were satisfied with her leadership. Although the new constitution reducing the president's rights was already in force by the time she took office, she systematically defended the remaining statutory rights, especially on questions of foreign policy and her position as commander of the armed forces. The president should, she said, be legitimate, strong, and able and willing to cooperate (Lähteenmäki 2004, 78). The daily press has, generally speaking, recognized that she handled her military and state duties as prudently as her predecessors, but with more emphasis on gender equality and with less ceremony. There is, however, also another side to the latter. Some described her way of going about things as too direct and autocratic: "Meetings always went the same way. Halonen would come in, spread her bags around her and begin by expressing a pointed opinion" (Hämäläinen 2005a, 24).

There would then be some half-hearted discussion that would go on until consensus was reached. Margaret Thatcher (the “Iron Lady”) used the same meeting tactics (see Genovese 1993, 197–98). According to an opinion poll in 2006, President Halonen’s biggest weakness was thought to be her inability to handle difficult issues and her poor support for her underlings; her strengths, by contrast, were her courage and energy (Simula 2005, 25).

Being the first female president, Tarja Halonen—as indeed all women in the public eye—came in for considerable pressure as regards her outward appearance. Attention was repeatedly drawn to her looks, her clothes, and her handbags, particularly the first time she stood for election. People felt that she ought to be persuaded to dress more smartly (Jääskeläinen and Pekkola 2000, 11–12, 21). She herself became more conscious about this, and she would no longer allow herself to be photographed without makeup (see also Ross and Sreberny 2000, 80–88; van Zoonen 2005, 92–95). During her presidency, she was generally likened to Moominmama (Fin. *Muumi-mamma*) in the cartoons by the Finnish artist Tove Jansson, as a round, kindly, and slightly fussy mother, always with an apron and a handbag (Lauhio 2011; Taipale 2012). Concepts of the kindly mother and the hard-as-nails politician lived side by side in images of Tarja Halonen throughout her presidency.

A FIRM GRIP ON POWER

Tarja Halonen’s second term in office began in early March 2006 with some degree of tension after a heated electoral campaign. She was not elected outright in the first round on January 15, which was a blow to her prestige. A second round meant that not everyone thought her first term had been a huge success. Since none of the eight candidates received more than 50 percent of the votes, a second round was held on January 29, 2006. Halonen then won 51.8 percent of the votes, gaining a slight majority over Conservative Sauli Niinistö. The turnout for the second round was 74.0 percent. In the second round, the right-wing parties joined forces behind Niinistö, but to no avail. Halonen’s campaign slogan was “The People’s President.” Focal election topics included the striking of forces between NATO and European Union, the president’s rights and value-based leadership, and—during the second round—women in the rural regions (Halonen) and, rather surprisingly, “The Workers’ President” (Niinistö). Halonen’s victory came as a disappointment to entrepreneurs; more than half of the entrepreneurs in a survey considered the result of the election unsatisfactory or even poor. The result is partly explained by

the visible support of the trade union movement for Halonen's election campaign (Lappalainen 2006, 29–31; *Statistics of the Presidential Elections in Finland* 2006).

The election acquired a political-party character even though presidential elections are usually considered to be person-oriented. Tarja Halonen's own party, the SDP, is one of the biggest in Finland, and its support carried her through to a second term. Although the power of the parties was less marked, the role of a large party was significant. Ankersmit (2002) has pointed out that the political parties are the guarantee of representational democracy, and, according to him, the parties call the government's attention to problems and maintain a link between individuals and government (129–32).

The beginning of Halonen's second term was dominated by a debate on amendments to the constitution and the curtailing of the president's rights in favor of the cabinet. Halonen adhered strictly to the letter of the law, especially on the president's foreign-policy rights, and refused to agree to the proposals of the committee seeking to curtail the president's powers. She insisted that any reforms would come into force only with the next president in office. Once again she argued for the preservation of the president's rights by saying that the president needs real power in order to act as a value-based leader of society. Yet she was criticized for being a feeble value-based leader. She herself disagreed: she had taken part in value-based debate by, among other things, pointing out the poor status of the elderly, a rise in violence, and the increase in poverty in Finnish society. She had also stressed shared responsibility, equality, and vocational training. This was true: she spoke of the state of Finnish society in every official New Year's Day speech and at the opening of Parliament (President Tarja Halonen's Official Speeches of the New Year 2006–12; President Tarja Halonen's Official Speeches in the Opening of the Parliamentary Seasons 2006–11). From her supporters' point of view, "Halonen has been a fair and humane president who is also respected abroad" (Hyvä häviöjä 2012).

Halonen's performance as president, elected directly by the people, was impressive during her second six-year term as well, though not quite so successful as in her first term. The biggest support in her second term came, as in the first, from workers and from both politically left- and right-wing women. This was in line with her repeated assertion that as president it was important to be dealing with issues that greatly affected people's lives. An opinion poll in June 2009 showed that her popularity was, for the most part, still as high as in her first term: 81 percent of the Finns felt that her performance as president had been extremely or relatively good (HS-Gallup. *Helsingin Sanomat*, June 27, 2009). However, at the end of her term she

did still have some opponents who could not tolerate her left-wing background and the fact that she was a woman. The opponents dismissed her as an “odorless, tasteless, and for the most part invisible head of state” and as a “woolly-headed dreamer” whose thoughts were still in the 1970s (Pergolaattori 2009; Nurvala 2005; President Tarja Halonen’s Official Speeches of the New Year 2012). This is precisely the sort of disparagement that many female politicians have encountered. A number of analysts have demonstrated that, all in all, female politicians get less media coverage than their male counterparts, but that when they do attract attention, it often has a negative connotation. More attention is paid to their looks, the way they dress, their age, and their social status than to actual issues (Ross and Sreberny 2000, 80–88; van Zoonen 2005, 92–95).

No sooner had Halonen’s presidency ended than top-level businessmen began expressing the antipathy to her that had been simmering beneath the surface. Björn Wahlroos, Chairman of the Board of the Nordic Nordea Group and an opponent of social welfare and development subsidies, said in the leading Finnish daily in February 2012 that the whole presidency had suffered as an institution during Halonen’s time: “I’m not saying she was unfit to be president, but that her political line and attitude were not what the people voted for in the parliamentary elections.” Wahlroos was here referring to the cultural figures favored by Halonen who had, he claimed, become her court: this prevented her from attacking political questions (Wahlroos 2012). It is true that she did, during her presidency, favor as her sparring partners representatives of NGOs and artists, but not particularly academics or to any great extent top businessmen. This was especially noticeable in the guest list for the President’s Independence Day reception, which each year keeps the majority of the Finns glued to their TV sets.

The claims that Halonen kept her distance from domestic policy may be true, but these claims cannot be made of her foreign policy. She traveled extensively and sought to establish active relations with all foreign states, though admittedly with varying success. She met Russia’s Vladimir Putin and Dmitry Medvedev a number of times and visited the other Nordic countries almost annually. During her time in office she also met with Bill Clinton (in 2000) and George W. Bush (in 2002) from the United States. In the last years of her presidency, her favorite topic was operations close to the United Nations. In one speech she said that peace and security, together with development and respect for human rights, were still the four things that supported one another and that should be the starting points for international

operations (Vesikallio 2012, 10). In another speech made at the UN, she emphasized the strong role of women in sustainable development policy.

Halonen was appointed chairman of the Council of Women World Leaders in 2009 and of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) Panel of Eminent Persons in 2011. She had a good model predecessor in this, Irish Prime Minister Mary Robinson (1990–97), who was likewise a qualified lawyer with a working-class background. Mary Robinson was not content to occupy just a ceremonial and shadow role as president, and announced that the presidency was itself a self-regulating institution. In her public speeches, she defended gender equality, tolerance, and openness, to which people were not accustomed. She unexpectedly resigned from office and accepted a high UN post. Her successor, Mary McAleese, continued her active policy (Lee Sykes 1993, 223–24; Jyränki 2009, 20–21). It is no coincidence that President McAleese made a state visit to Finland soon after Halonen was elected (2001) and that Halonen paid her a return visit at the beginning of her second term in office (2007).

The presidential practices in Halonen's Finland did not undergo such radical change as in Ireland; rather, Halonen took a surprisingly moderate line. But voices began to be raised during her term saying that the entire institution was becoming redundant (Lappalainen 2006, 31). A dramatic gesture was in this respect made right at the start of Halonen's presidency when an influential Finnish journalist, Risto Uimonen, published a book called *Riisuttu presidentti* (The stripped president), in which he described how the president had been stripped of power and how, just as Halonen took office, the president was transformed into an "ordinary mortal." According to Uimonen (2001, 288–89), Halonen's rise to power was attributable to a struggle for power within the SDP and not her merits as such. Maybe this was another example of a desire to belittle a female politician's personal merits as the reason for her success.

The foremost aspects of national policy were visible in Halonen's official, televised speeches to the nation on New Year's Day. In them she drew attention to the strength of Finland's democratic system, its striving to preserve the Nordic welfare society model, and the principle of a strong rule of law; these are, she claimed, still safeguards of society. On the other hand, she also reminded the nation about the poor status of the elderly, shootings in schools, unemployment, and the hardening of values. "Intolerance will not solve our problems," she said in 2011 (President Tarja Halonen's Official Speech of the New Year 2011). Her last official New Year's Day speech in 2012 reflected the then-ongoing EU crisis. She stressed that, again, the

problems could only be solved together (President Tarja Halonen's Official Speech of the New Year 2012). On the subject of Finnish equality, she commented: "Equality is like the horizon. We have to travel toward it, but the further we go, the further away it is. [. . .] It would be good to think about whether there is an obstacle in our structures of which we are not yet aware" (Nykänen 2012, 33).

A MODERATE PROFESSIONAL POLITICIAN STICKING TO HER RIGHTS

It may sound contradictory to claim that the female president of a republican regime is elitist, especially in the case of a person who has made a point of highlighting questions of equality. Yet, in speaking of a female presidency, the very phenomenon may be deemed elitist. The reason is that it is, in general, extremely rare, especially in the case of a head of state wielding real political power, such as the Finnish president. In this context, elitism thus applies primarily to the presidential position and not necessarily to the political lines chosen by individual presidents.

Europe has known only a few female presidents endowed with real power since the Second World War, including Halonen. Viewed globally, she represented an elite class of ruler: a top female politician. That she was the product of a party-led democracy further indicates, from the point of view of representational democracy, that she belonged among the nation's finest, both as a member of parliament and as president. This vanguard view was further enhanced by her election as president twice by direct vote. She was "the people's choice" in the true sense of the word. As president, she was also commander of the Finnish Defence Forces—rare indeed for a female politician.

What sort of political profile did Halonen then construct during her twelve years in office? This profile looks very consistent and in keeping with that already established during her period as a member of parliament (1979–2000). Its pillars were (1) Social Democratic *class before gender* thinking; (2) a servant-of-the-people role; (3) emphasis on her own self-assertive legal and political expertise; (4) continuing awareness of the needs of everyday life and ordinary people; (5) support for international solidarity work; and (6) maintenance of the *girl-from-a-poor-working-class-part-of-the-city* identity. That she went back to live in the city district of her childhood after the end of her presidency illustrates the last of these both symbolically and concretely. Her mission had been accomplished, and it was time to go home. After the departure from her post, Halonen returned to the SDP and also to the Lutheran Church (Saarikoski 2013).

Even though Halonen did manage, as her high popularity ratings show, to become “the whole nation’s president” and was widely described by the slogan “one of us” (in 2005, Finnish journalist Hannu Lehtilä published a book whose title in English is *Tarja Halonen: One of us*), she always had influential opponents, especially in business and right-wing circles. Even though her opponents in their discourse branded her with such labels as godless, a Communist, and a lesbian, she was none of these; rather, she was a surprisingly moderate adherer to middle-of-the-road politics and values. In fact, it would have been difficult for her to remain popular for so long had she been very radical. Another major reason for her popularity was the fact that she neither viewed nor advertised herself as a “female president”; she was just a president who happened to be a woman. She did not brand herself as a strict feminist, and she sought to improve the status of women by moderate means.

Halonen’s term as President of Finland ended on March 1, 2012, when Sauli Niinistö, representing Finland’s right-wing party, the National Coalition, took office. At her last press conference, Halonen said that she would continue taking part in public debate: “I’m the sort of person who always lives in the present” (Vesikallio 2012, 10). This statement describes well her profile: no lengthy deliberation about how to construct her political line or analyses of the nation’s historical meanings but commentary on issues of day-to-day politics, here and now.

CONCLUSIONS

I have here taken a look at President Tarja Halonen—her political background, her views, and people’s concepts of her. In conclusion, the following question could be raised: did Halonen change or challenge the Finnish presidency as an institution? The answer may be sought from at least two perspectives.

The president’s rights were curtailed at the start of her term in office; this had been planned and decided before she was even elected and had nothing to do with gender. Tarja Halonen nevertheless kept a tight grip on her remaining power—which was, in part, open to interpretation—and refused to approve measures to curtail it. In this sense, she modified the limits to the president’s power.

At another level, did being a woman affect the way she acted as president? This question may be answered in the affirmative: she moulded images of the president as an institution. She drew the president closer to the people in the way she acted and in her speeches appealing for the preservation of the welfare society and for international solidarity. Figuratively speaking, she descended a couple of steps from the president’s ivory tower. She also influenced the intellectual climate in Finland

through her personal example as a gender-sensitive head of state who emphasized sincerity (Isaksson 2016; Yle News 2013). She did not, however, earn full points from the nation as a value-based leader because she did not, during her presidency, succeed in shaking off the left-wing “1970s image.” She probably did not even wish to.

Another way in which she differed from former presidents and created a new presidential image was her versatility. She was at the same time a professional and a hard-line politician who fought her way into the political elite, yet she was also a “lady from the welfare office” who reminded people of the need to care for those unable to care for themselves (Lähtenmäki 2004, 75–76; Pohjonen 2012). It was precisely this combination that first made her a presidential candidate with the backing of Finland’s workers, women, and cultural circles. This dual role further meant that she managed to enjoy high support-figures throughout her twelve-year term as Finland’s first female president, a term for which she will always be remembered and which for the first time cracked—but did not break—the highest of all glass ceilings.

In the company of Europe’s other female presidents and national leaders, Tarja Halonen stood out to her advantage because she still possessed and wielded real political power. In this sense she could be most closely compared to Ireland’s Mary Robinson and Mary McAleese. Finland’s strong presidency is an anomaly in the Nordic countries, because Sweden, Denmark, and Norway are monarchies. True, Denmark has a queen as its sovereign, and Sweden’s next sovereign will be a woman, but their roles are representational. Iceland is the other Nordic republic that had a president, but Iceland’s president is more of a ceremonial leader than a true ruler. As a wielder of power, Tarja Halonen was strict, matter-of-fact, and domineering—all properties associated with male rather than female leaders. She, thus, transformed the soft style of management too often associated with women leaders.

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FINNS AND FINNICANS: WALTER MATTILA AND THE ETHNIC DILEMMA OF SECOND-GENERATION FINNISH AMERICANS

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ABSTRACT

Walter Mattila, a second-generation Finnish American, was a man pressed for time. As a journalist and editor for the Finnish American Historical Society of the West, he worried that Finns were not doing enough to preserve their material culture and ethnic heritage. This article focuses on his key writings and how they engage with the assimilation and acculturation process, providing answers for why some second-generation Finnish Americans chose to preserve, protect, and revitalize cultural traditions when others wanted to abandon them. His efforts, part of the general resurgence of historical ethnic differences and the emergence of ethnic renewal movements in the early 1970s, contribute to discussions on ethnic adaptation in changing historical circumstances.

MATTILA'S CONCERN WITH THE SECOND GENERATION

Walter Mattila was greatly concerned by the weak efforts of many second-generation Finnish Americans to hold onto their cultural heritage in the early 1970s. His work highlights the importance of generations as well as the fact that the Americanization of European immigrant groups had by no means been completed by the later decades of the twentieth century. With more than fifty publications to his name, Mattila, as a newspaperman, covered a wide variety of topics, mainly based on his own personal experiences in the Pacific Northwest: the Astoria ferry, salmon fishing, pioneer homesteading, mining, and logging. Much of his writing as editor and

president of the Finnish American Historical Society of the West and, particularly, in his own self-published books, were written late in life and focused on the need for Finnish Americans to take pride in their ethnic heritage. His last two books, *Finns and Finnicans: An Oregon Finntown Novel*, published in 1970, and *Indians, Finns and Their Thunderbirds*, published in 1973, reveal a mind struggling at a deeper level with questions of cultural pluralism and emerging claims of ethnic difference. He used the melting pot metaphor (already dated at that time) as a rhetorical device to stress the idea that ethnicity constituted both a resource and a burden for European groups trying to achieve economic mobility and escape demeaning stereotypes. For Mattila, the ethnic dilemma had to do with what material and customs to preserve and what to consign to the dustbin of history. This article considers his writings and his life and the questions these raise about the acculturation process for second-generation Finnish Americans.

What accounts for the resurgence of historical ethnic differences in the early 1970s, and what does this resurgence have to say about more contemporary expressions of ethnic identity? The purpose of this article is to discuss assimilation and the acculturation process within one group of second-generation European immigrants and to analyze why some chose to preserve, protect, recover, and revitalize cultural traditions at a time when others wanted to abandon them. By overemphasizing the allegiance of the immigrant generation to Old Country culture, previous scholarship has exaggerated the speed of its decline in later generations (Gans 1992, 49). Themes of multiculturalism and transnationalism help us rethink the persistence of ethnic identity among white Europeans who immigrated to the United States between 1880 and the early 1920s. Richard Alba and Mary Waters speak of a symbolic ethnicity among later generations of "white ethnics," dominated by the consumption of such symbols as ethnic foods, festivals, and ancestral collectibles, or occasional trips to the Old Country, an ethnicity that is subjective and a matter of personal choice (Alba 1990; Waters 1990). Their research, though, primarily focuses on the third- to fifth-generation descendants of European immigrants. Research on members of the second generation can shed more light on particular challenges in the assimilation process, on the fluid and innovative means of ethnic adaptation to changing historical circumstances (see, e.g., Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Rumbaut 2007). Recent studies have shown that ethnic identification remains strongest among the lowest and highest social classes of immigrant groups. The working class and middle class stand to gain the most from assimilation and thus actively strive to shed much of their ethnic identity. Children

of immigrants of the highest class, who have already largely been incorporated economically, choose to rely on co-ethnic networks and organizations and expressions of ethnic solidarity less for instrumental needs than to fulfill expressive, individualistic needs (Brown and Bean 2006; Bean and Stevens 2003). Often having been raised in a transnational social context and having acquired the skills to manage different cultural repertoires, the shaping of a particular ethnic identity may change and even grow stronger as such persons age and have more time to engage in heritage practices (Levitt 2002; Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004). Notions of ancestral and local ethnic culture also reveal significant intergenerational differences (Leinonen 2014), with ethnic identities often representing various combinations of a particular European background fit into a specific American environment (see, e.g., Blanck 1989; Österlund-Pötzsch 2003). This article focuses on the life of Walter Mattila as a detailed case study of how identities are constructed during the early stages of immigrant settlement and later re-evaluated based on particular ethnic and historical contexts.

A MAN PRESSED FOR TIME

Walter Mattila struggled with the question of what aspects of Finnish cultural life to preserve and enhance while also adapting them to fit the new homeland. He wrote about the early twentieth century in order to comment on the 1970s and to create a certain image of 1970s Finnish “Americanness.” His novels in particular fictionalized the Finnish immigrant past to promote a specific ethnically based concept of heritage and identity.¹ Though the characters in his novels are fictional, they are based on the immigrant experiences of his family and the stories of those he met and worked with in the mid-twentieth century. Lured first by the discovery of gold, his father, Oscar (b. 1868), traveled from Finland to Lead, South Dakota,

1 The twin concepts of identity and heritage are inherently vague and ill defined, yet frequently used in public and private discourse. David Lowenthal has demonstrated the extent to which both concepts have a politics, used to domesticate and impose unity on the past to serve the needs of the present, to support celebrations of ethnic roots. For him, heritage categories include legend and language, landscape and history, art and architecture (Lowenthal 1994, 44). For its part, identity can be paired with collective memory, defined by reference to precise spatial, temporal, and cultural boundaries supposedly binding groups of people together (Gillis 1994, 3). As the article is more descriptive than theoretical in nature, the point is not to engage in the complexities of the concepts, but to draw attention to Mattila’s strategic choices in positing an essentialized version of Finnish “Americanness” at a time when ethnic renewal movements were redefining many European immigrant communities and Native American communities alike (postcolonial scholarship has highlighted how non-Western peoples, too, have adopted the concepts to represent themselves in transnational spaces and discourses).

in 1887, only to be promised greater opportunity in the Pacific Northwest by the extravagant promotional literature of the railroads, produced after the passing of the Enlarged Homestead Act of 1909. With his wife, Hilma Karhunen (b. 1883), who had moved to the United States in 1902 and shortly thereafter married Oscar, the family took up farming in Woodland, Washington, in the year 1910. Walter, the oldest of eight children (b. 1905), attended the University of Washington in the 1920s. He worked in logging camps during his summer vacations and became a teacher for a short time, before finding his way to Astoria, Oregon, at the mouth of the Columbia River, where he worked in the fishing industry and as a newspaperman. He moved to Portland, Oregon, in the 1950s, where he continued to work as a journalist and began to take an active interest in the local history of immigrant groups, namely the Finns. Suffering from cancer and the ravages of cataracts, it is remarkable that Walter Mattila accomplished what he did later in life, which is when he was at his most productive. His writings betray a sense of urgency not just in terms of his own pending mortality, but also with respect to documenting Finnish cultural practices before later generations would forget them. In a 1973 newsletter by the Finnish American Historical Society of the West, titled *New Finnish Research Targets*, he wrote:

There isn't much time left. Finnish history is perishable in its American home like good Chinook salmon. If the Finns do not write up their own story, the new Americans in ethnic studies will. You might not look good being ethnized [sic] by Yankees. It would be better to do it yourself. Bring us your material. Every historian has an ax to grind. You are advised to do your own grinding on your own people. [. . .] Fortunately new interest is picking up in the emigrant story among the young. University student studies on the melting pot have increased. But those inspired workers cannot do much without material. (2)

In arguing for a “new interest” among second-generation Finnish Americans in their ethnic identity, Mattila wanted to transcend a generational divide and forge a common understanding of Finnish “Americanness” based on a shared cultural identity. Far from an easy task, he enlisted the help of the Society to assist in defining the more tangible aspects of Finnish heritage. Founded in 1962, the Finnish American Historical Society of the West was part of the increased interest in preserving ethnic heritage and efforts to start ethnic studies programs at universities, museums, and historical institutions. Its founder and first president, Cai Lindquist, had envisioned

documenting all Finnish immigrant culture west of the Mississippi River. He pioneered the recording of dialects among older Finns in the region, tried to gather personal data on every person of Finnish descent (a program for which he received little support), established contacts with interested historians in both Finland and the United States, explored the cultural activities of religious and political partisans in Finn halls and churches, and encouraged the Society to participate in festivals, log cabin building, pioneer home salvage, genealogical work, book collecting, group singing, the showing of films, and other activities (Mattila 1970b, 2–3). Intent on continuing his work, Mattila and the Society helped the Oregon Historical Society collect and preserve the available immigrant record on the development of the region for its Oregon Historical Museum. He told readers that the State of Oregon was collecting pioneer writings and artifacts from Communist and religious Finns alike. Yet he warned readers that the state would only be willing to collect certain Finnish Communist materials if older Finns could just learn to take more of a critical distance from such materials and put past enmities aside. Likewise, he warned more conservative Society members not to so hastily dismiss the contributions of Finnish Americans to American labor history as mere “foul Commie rubbish” that did not belong “in any museum, not even Mongolian” (Finnish American Historical Society of the West 1973, 3). Here, he was calling attention to racist thinking of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that had cast doubt on the “whiteness” of Finnish immigrants, often linking Finns not just to Mongolians but also to Native Americans (Kivisto and Leinonen 2014, 75). Though aware that such racial associations continued to be a sensitive issue for many first-generation Finnish Americans, Mattila did not dwell too much on the stereotypes because by the 1970s they were no longer a fundamental concern for second-generation immigrants. He mentioned the concern with race just to dismiss it. His main concern was in alerting readers to the fact that the Oregon Historical Society was a group made up of “well heeled [sic] Republicans of saintly learning to the right,” and that Governor McCall “doesn’t hire Commies” and does not want to have to conduct “a Red hunt in the museum” (Finnish American Historical Society of the West 1973, 2–3). Indeed, museums, historical societies, and ethnic studies programs at universities in the early 1970s often emphasized romanticized views of ethnic traditions. Likewise, descendants of immigrants entering the professional classes actively sought to turn aside lingering social and cultural prejudices and gain the respect of mainstream America by telling a more sanitized version of their family’s ethnic story.

From his vantage point in the early 1970s, Mattila was less interested in the political divisions than in constructing a new understanding of Finnish American history. He was certainly aware of the fact that many viewed such efforts as “a class-based social movement clad in ethnic clothes” (Gans 1992, 45), but still he had little patience with lingering hostilities among first-generation Finnish Americans. The internal divisions had impacted the transnational identities of immigrants trying to remain connected to Finland and Europe in the years especially after the First and Second World War. Value systems in both the home and host country had impacted how immigrants constructed their identities as well as their economic, social, and political communities. A typical Finnish response to the need for education and the transmission of particular values was to start newspapers (Pilli 1982). Astoria was a hotbed of Finnish newspaper publishing, with more than ten Finnish-language newspapers published between 1891 and the Second World War, most of them strongly partisan in their politics. In 1921, the socialist newspaper *Toveri* (Comrade) and the separate women’s newspaper *Toveritar* encouraged readers to help establish a fishing commune in Karelia. Astoria raised more money for the project than any other community in the United States (Hummasti 1979, 239). Between forty and fifty people, told to bring their own machines and tools, boarded three special train cars for New York, a steamship for Riga, and another train for St. Petersburg en route to the White Sea. Despite local fanfare and big banners promoting the expedition, conservative Finnish people ridiculed their chances of success, and some of the wives and children, including a few born and raised in the United States, did not want to join the expedition. The failed experiment created long-lasting divisions within the local Finnish Communist movement and in the way the first and second generations imagined and engaged with politics and culture in the homeland (Finnish American Historical Society of the West papers; see also Kangaspuro and Saramo 2011). It motivated some in the second generation to distance themselves even further from the first generation and to embrace American culture more strongly, while it motivated others, like Mattila himself, to look for answers in a cultural identity stripped of overt political associations.

Mattila’s writings suggest answers for how to engage successfully with mainstream American culture, and even with other immigrant and indigenous groups, while retaining what is best from Finnish culture. Mattila moved into the politically divided community of Astoria in the 1930s and began writing for the conservative Finnish American weekly *Lännen Suometar*. He was on hand to witness another important political moment in the life of Finnish communities, the Winter War,

when different generations of Finnish Americans offered material and moral support to people in the homeland. He was impressed by the magnitude of the relief efforts, which continued into the 1950s, the extent to which the relief efforts bound up many old wounds in Finnish communities among young and old, Church Finns and Socialist Finns, and the ways such efforts elevated the image of Finns in the eyes of mainstream Americans (Mattila 1972c). The war years and the lack of new immigration from Finland sped up the Americanization process, with such institutions as the Finnish Lutheran church losing members (Mattila 1972d). Both the church and newspapers began using English instead of Finnish (*Lännen Suometar* became the *Columbia Press* in the late 1940s), first prompting Mattila to begin worrying about the ways in which the second generation could continue adapting to mainstream culture without losing touch with Finnish culture. Defining the parameters of such a culture in a new context proved difficult. He worried that the new ethnic researchers would find examples only of strikes and labor disputes in local newspapers, ignoring the numerous stories of daily life told by the immigrants during the early and mid-twentieth century. He worried researchers would ignore this most significant cultural part of the immigrant story, centered as it was in boarding houses and halls (Mattila 1972b, 8). To better explain the complex Americanization process, Mattila employed the term Finnicans.

IMMIGRANT TALES

What did Walter Mattila mean by Finnicans? He never actually provided a concise definition of the term. He had first tried the term “Finnogonians” in the 1959 Oregon centennial issue of *Finlandia Pictorial*, but thereafter dropped it in favor of the more expansive Finnicans, since he could then apply it to immigrants throughout the Pacific Northwest (Finnish American Historical Society of the West papers). He used the term when discussing the process of becoming American without losing an essential “Finnishness,” of learning what to pass on to second-generation Finnish Americans so that all could be proud of their heritage. He left it to the reader to work out the meaning of Finnican based on examples in his novels of successful cultural adaptation. He turned his attention in particular to boarding houses as the initial social and educational hives for new immigrants, a place where they would learn from each other how to get along better in the new country. For him, the large boarding houses in Astoria, Portland, Aberdeen, and Seattle were the “incubators of Finnicans” (Mattila 1972b). For many immigrants from rural Finland, the dozen or so boarding houses were social centers for getting acquainted; they were also

an economical place to live and a base from which to find employment. They were spaces to satirize Finland's old social caste system (the most popular ballad was "Ison talon Antti") and create new stories and songs (2). They were spaces where immigrants from different parts of Finland learned to interact with each other, with different immigrant groups, and with other Americans to create a new local culture. Having himself lived in a boarding house in Astoria, Mattila was able to speak about the popular stories, novels, and plays that got their start in those places, where the "emigrants were converted to American thinking in many ways but persisted in using their native language" (5). Boarding houses often provided a link between the first and second generation. What Mattila liked best about the stories is that they were non-partisan, told not for ideological or educational purposes but merely to express the hopes, dreams, and fears of people seeking to adjust to new surroundings and find a better life. He was most critical of the Communists because they "remained doggedly boring in their propaganda" and dismissed the literary ideals of those in the boarding houses as "bourgeois pap" (5–6). Mattila notes that only a small percentage of the patrons of halls and boarding houses were influenced by revolutionary politics. Most, instead, wanted stories of how to fit into their newly adopted country.

Mattila brought the stories to life in his semi-fictional work *Finns and Finnicans: An Oregon Finntown Novel* (1970a), set in the first decades of the twentieth century. According to him, the book was the first comprehensive story set in the Pacific Northwest, documenting the cultural and social evolution of immigrants undergoing the Americanization process (Finnish American Historical Society of the West papers). As realistic historical fiction, it highlights a landscape and suggests a future without implicating and perhaps offending the real persons whom Mattila met and worked with in 1930s Astoria. Astoria of the early twentieth century was part ramshackle affair, thrown up in a hurry around canneries raised off the marshy ground on wooden pilings, and part homesick city, with stately Victorian homes and white churches tucked into the hillside and reminding more affluent arrivals of the dignified and cultured life left behind (Finntown versus Packer Heights, as Mattila termed the social and geographical divide). Here, many militant party members and union activists from Finntowns in the Midwest and Rocky Mountain mining centers, aiming to indoctrinate the locals politically, bumped up against religious luminaries sent out West by the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church (Suomi Synod) to preach moral improvement. Mattila criticized all such firebrands for talking over the heads of the people and not really caring about the on-the-ground Americanization

process that informed the world of most of the immigrants. He distinguished between Finnicans and Yankee Finns, those, respectively, who wanted to hold on to more of their Finnish heritage and those who thought you could only be 100-percent American. If the old Finns could not move past long-standing prejudices brought over from Finland and integrate more, then the Yankee Finns, while more economically successful, wanted only to speak English and play basketball. Mattila clearly identified with the Finnicans. The writing style is choppy, often difficult to read, but his descriptive similes brighten up the book. For instance, he likened the melting pot to a sauna where immigrants “sweated out” the foreign. Outside the sauna stood American firemen, ready to put out the fire if the “sweating souls” became too hot (Mattila 1970a, back cover). But the Americanization process happened at different speeds; for most, “Finn did not wear off fast and easy” (back cover). Young Finnicans, for their part, “keep rubbing off Finn from themselves and their parents, but they can’t see all the stuff; some of it hides out deep and creeps out unexpectedly” (inside cover). Mattila worried about what socially valuable cultural practices might have been lost in the process.

Mattila’s Finnicans struggle to fit into a multicultural world. The book discusses the melting pot from an outsider perspective, that of mainstream Americans, and an immigrant insider perspective. Mattila took care to highlight a diversity of Finnish perspectives. Of Hertta Kropsa, a Finnish American woman born in Astoria in the late nineteenth century and dubbed the “Red Queen” in the years after the First World War, he writes: “To the American bingoists in the Firefly Tavern, Mrs. Kropsa was a harmless old charmer who clearly loved her Finnish sauna and the Finnish epic Kalevala; to most of her own people, she was a community wrecking Commie, busy on another of her Finn splitting attacks; to the barflies she was a lovely lady with a heart of gold by a well; and to the FBI, which received tips on how to bag her at subversive activities in steambath, taxicab and tavern, she was a two-file spy suspect” (1970a, 81–82). Born Hertta Mantynen, her mother was a Sámi from Lapland who taught dance (learned from Roma traveling through Lapland) and loved music, while her father was a utopian Socialist dreamer from Helsinki who had worked as a masseur. Her father later participated in the Socialist worker experiment in Soviet Karelia, where he became disillusioned with party politics. He wanted his daughter to marry a Native American because they understood utopian living better. Hertta was also a utopian Socialist dreamer (dubbed the “Red Queen” by her detractors), who loved to sing in the church choir and enjoyed dancing. She was rejected by Yankee Finns for not being American enough (doesn’t she realize

that Americans do not take kindly to her Socialist dreams?) and by older Finns for being too interested in adapting her ideas to fit American culture (e.g., to even think about criticizing the Church, God, or the government was to be a “Red Devil”; there was no half way). Able to move in some of the same social circles as the Astoria Victorians, but preferring instead Finntown and the opportunity to recite passages from the *Kalevala* and *The Seven Brothers* “in melodious Finnish” (80), Hertta and the Mantynen family baffled most first-generation immigrants. They are a foil for Mattila’s inability to understand or tolerate later generations of Finns wanting to turn their back on cultural achievements for the sake of religious and political disagreements.

Mattila’s concerns centered more on preserving Finnish high culture, though he passed it off as “authentic” peasant culture. Mattila himself did not use the word *authentic*, but his writings strongly suggest that he had a clear idea of a Finnish culture rooted deeply in the countryside. This is not surprising considering the fact that his parents moved from Finland at a time when ethnologists were actively documenting and celebrating folk culture as the cornerstone of Finnish national identity (Räsänen 1989). In the 1970s, he stood at the far end of a long tradition of middle-class people turning to the anti-modern rural countryside for cultural inspiration (see, e.g., McKay 1994). He felt such cultural “treasure” could be found in Finntown literature of the boarding houses in the early and mid-twentieth century, but it was quickly dying out as many in the second generation chose to embrace everything American and turn their back on their Finnish heritage. Cultural producers such as Mattila envisioned a more expansive and complex sense of Finnishness, one in which music, literature, and the Finnish language could survive in a multicultural context, even if always necessarily changing. The Finns in the boarding houses bought goods from Finnish-speaking Arab, Armenian, and Jewish traders. The Finns esteemed them for their intelligence in mastering the Finnish language and their worldly ways (Mattila 1972b, 7). Hertta Kropsa’s family had been influenced by urban Helsinki, Karelia, Lapland, Russia and the Soviet Union, Swedish-speaking Finns, Sámi, and Roma peoples. Convinced that Finnish political and religious writers of the early twentieth century were not in touch with the Americanizing side of Finntown life, that they missed the local process of Finns becoming Finnicans in the first decades of the twentieth century, he had Hertta’s character write down the story of how “Mikko meets Maija” to suggest ways in which Finnicans were adapting rural Finnish courtship practices to fit a new setting, with “Finglish” often standing in for the Finnish of the Old Country. It is a story with chambermaids, dishwashers, deliverymen,

loggers, fishermen, and a matchmaking landlady, in which everyone is happy and ultimately gets married, but never divorced, in which there are no controversies or hardships, everyone has a job, money, clothes, friends, and nice manners (Mattila 1970a, 132). The story became an instant success in the town theaters. In celebrating the often-humorous stories told by boarding house Finns and adapting them for his own purposes, Mattila, through the character of Hertta, was manipulating and refashioning traditional folk values to fit many immigrants' unbridled sense of optimism in pursuing the American dream.

In *Finns and Finnicans*, Mattila drew on his earlier publications for the Finnish American Historical Society of the West on logging and pioneering to expand on his belief that Finns gained most from promises of democracy and economic opportunity. The farmers, fishermen, and loggers of the Pacific Northwest had moved into a dramatic and exaggerated landscape, with towering evergreens, majestic mountain heights, and enormous waterways, an allegorical landscape with names like Cape Disappointment and Starvation Peak. It was a landscape big enough for the greatest of American folk heroes, the lumberjack Paul Bunyan, bringing the moral triumph of civilization to an unruly wilderness. Mattila found Paul Bunyan the perfect embodiment of his message of Americanization. He titled his Society piece on Finnish logging practices the "Finnish Paul Bunyans" (1973b). For the romantic Hertta, the Finnish American loggers had it in them to create an American *Kalevala*. From her privileged background steeped in nationalist romantic literature, Hertta could hardly conceive of Finns not being poets in the forest. "Big Paul would have got along well with the Kalevala mighty," she felt, since "the Kalevala forest people were turned out with the same rough strokes, but not as frontier democratic" (Mattila 1970a, 120–21). By this, both she and Walter Mattila meant that frontier Finns and frontier Americans had much in common, save that North America offered even more opportunities for democratic equality. She wanted to marry a young working-class Finnican boy who shared her love of the *Kalevala* and its updated promise of frontier-style democracy for all. She stands in for Mattila's own nostalgia for a time when Finns had supposedly learned the *Kalevala* stories and songs in childhood at home and at fairs and festivals.² The spontaneous literary outburst in Astoria and

2 In *The Pioneer Finnish Home* (1971, 14), Mattila expanded on the social importance of the *Kalevala* in *The Boarding House Finns* (1972b, 4), but he did not distinguish between the literary *Kalevala* and folk poetry. William A. Wilson, in *Folklore and Nationalism in Modern Finland* (1976), elaborates on how both Communists and conservatives alike used the *Kalevala* for political purposes in the 1920s and 1930s, but nowhere does he suggest that it was commonplace to recite it around the dining table, after sauna, or at festivals.

other Finntowns demonstrated the new democratic spirit of “uneducated, almost illiterate authors” creating popular, Finnish-influenced entertainment as they were being converted to American ways of thinking (Mattila 1972b, 5). The literature added a particular Finnish spin to the Americanization process.

For Mattila, such stories and plays defined the immigrant experiences of many, if not most, Finnish Americans. The new environment changed people; they created new identities when confronted with new challenges, opportunities, and prejudices. Less sensitized to ethnic differences and enjoying more economic and social prospects, immigrants created new stories to fit the environment. The landlady in Finntown boarding houses was key in the Americanization process, much admired by mainstream Americans for her business acumen, and by former Finnish peasants as an example of an American success story. “That marvelous spectacle to Finnish emigrants, the emergence of former milkmaids from country sinks to Finntown business queens, received scant attention in Old Country newspapers or books,” Mattila observed (1972b, 4). Mattila felt the stories and plays that got their start in the boarding houses challenged the rather common assumption that those who continued to use some Finnish in their speech were “backward” and not appreciative enough of their American surroundings. Not all agreed. Mattila noted that newspaper editors did not want to publish such low-brow boarding-house romances, and they thereby lost many of their readers (Mattila 1970a, 133). For conservatives, the stories did not focus enough on moral improvement. For Socialists, such capitalist tripe induced “wage slaves” to enjoy their own misery. The Red Scare following the First World War resulted in new prejudices against Finns in many mining, fishing, and logging communities. Many Finnish immigrants lost interest in plays not performed in American English and with an implied message of social change. Hertta changed the name of her play to “Mike Meets Maija,” with Mike now being an American boy courting a Finntown girl living in a family home and not a boarding house. Maija speaks English and tries to distance herself from her Finnish upbringing (135). Looking back from a critical distance of half a century, Mattila criticized Finnish Americans for assuming that you can only be American or Finnish, but that you cannot be both. He dismissed such an outlook as “hillbilly prejudice” (1972b, 6), noting that researchers of the time were drawing different conclusions about the complex acculturation process when translating the stories and plays.

The Finnish American Historical Society of the West documented the rise and decline of theatrical and other entertainment in Astoria’s Finntown to shed light on the origins of and stories told by the first settlers in the region, treating them

as agents in the integration process, actively negotiating their own identities. The Society felt that by neglecting such forms of entertainment, researchers had not been able to capture some of the more interesting aspects of the immigrant experience among Finnish settlers and other ethnic groups in the region (Mattila 1972b, 8). In the early 1970s, the Oregon Historical Society, together with the newly formed Northwest Institute for Ethnic Studies, began to study almost forgotten Finnish immigrant drama and music as a means of dispelling prejudices against foreign groups that had previously suffered discrimination. They were delighted to find many classics (by Tolstoy, Chekhov, Strindberg, Shaw, Molière, and Ibsen, as well as many operas) translated by hand into Finnish, as well as many other plays, often written in the local Finglish dialect, with professional play and music directors from Europe, and costumes that had cost thousands of dollars, as well as a Socialist theater, which seated 800 people and which, during its heyday in the early twentieth century, often produced a new play every two weeks with a cast of local fishermen. The conservative Finnish Brotherhood hall boasted similar numbers. According to Mattila, the experts studying immigrant drama and music were delighted, but at the same time confused. They could not understand how Socialist doctrine would condone such Victorian bourgeois drama or why the Lutheran State Church would sanction the stage as a substitute for the gospel (1972a, 2–3). Moreover, how could uneducated peasants create some of the finest immigrant entertainment in the region? According to the Finnish American Historical Society of the West, such confusion stemmed from the fact that researchers were putting the cart in front of the horse, so to speak. To understand Finnish ethnic identity, they needed to study matters from the bottom up and not the top down. Most immigrants were young, energetic, and self-reliant; they sought not just bread but also entertainment and a sense of community. They were eager to become more polished, prosperous, and popular, both for bragging rights among kin back in Finland and to find their own place in a new society. They and the “native born founders of the Salmon Capital of the World got along with twenty different nationalities, including Chinese, Hindus, Japanese and various Europeans” (1972a, 2). This is key to understanding the creation of new identities and new local culture. Mattila argued that if they had not been sufficiently entertained by activities organized within the Finnish community, many would just have gone elsewhere to find such entertainment (1972a, 5).

CREATING NEW ETHNIC IDENTITIES

History, language, and culture all impact the formation of collective identities at different times and in different places. Walter Mattila’s novel *Indians, Finns and Their*

Thunderbirds (1973a) is based on the factual history of two minority groups in the lower Columbia River region.³ The last of Mattila's works, it represents a search for the origins of the Finnish immigrant story in the Pacific Northwest. It focuses on homesteading pioneers and the roots of the peasant culture that many first brought over from Finland before beginning to move into larger towns. The novel tells about Native Americans gradually losing their fishing rights and the subsequent settlement of Native American lands by immigrant Finns, who cleared out brush for farms in the area around Woodland, Washington, along the lower Columbia River and Lewis River, in the foothills of the Cascade Mountains. It tells of both groups becoming Americanized in the same fishing and forest environment. Unlike *Finns and Finnicans*, the book is heavily illustrated with sketches of Native American art and rural Finnish cultural practices. The book is fascinating in its attempt to trace a relationship between Native Americans and Finns. Mattila revealed to Society members that the person who had illustrated the book was his niece, Aimee Mattila, a young artist studying at the University of Washington who had married into a local Native American community. Mattila displayed keen insight into both groups of people, even though critical reviews of his book at the time accused him of being overly sympathetic to the Native Americans in the story (Finnish American Historical Society of the West papers). This may be a bit unfair, as he seems interested in focusing more on the problems of assimilation for members of a stigmatized ethnic minority. To develop his story, Mattila made use of extensive historical documents, reports of the Oregon Fish Commission, and news stories about the fish wars of the 1960s and 1970s, in which native groups pressured the U.S. government to recognize tribal treaty rights. Mattila believed that Native American culture was worth preserving in its own right, a testament to his willingness and ability to see commonalities of place and experience binding migrant and indigenous groups together.

In the book, immigrants from northern Europe and Asia rub shoulders with Native Americans and Boston men, as he calls them, in efforts to make money and

3 In many Pacific Northwest cultures, the thunderbird is a supernatural being of power and strength, frequently depicted in art, songs, and oral histories. While a recent body of scholarship proposes a special ecological relationship between Finns and Native Americans, especially with respect to the so-called Finndians of the upper Midwest (see, e.g., Kettu, Koutaniemi, and Seppälä 2016), Mattila more invoked the thunderbird image to highlight the similar strategies employed by peoples struggling to adapt to American modes of capitalism and commerce. For instance, in an earlier fictionalized work, *Sam Newhut, Empire Builder* (1969), he wrote about of a fisherman of mixed foreign and Native American background only learning to succeed in the cutthroat capitalist world by using ruthless methods to get ahead in the timber and publishing industries.

fit into a rapidly changing society on the Pacific West Coast. The first part of the book tells about the efforts of certain Native Americans to adapt to white society. Tum, daughter of a village chief, and her husband, One Horse Illahee, named their son Boston to honor the white fishermen from that city and were proud of his achievements in school. He spoke English well and learned how to catch salmon from his grandfather. He became a gillnet fisherman and eventually a union leader. Boston married a white girl, a soprano in the local Presbyterian Church choir named Prudence, and he initially shared her ambition to join the best Astoria gentry. Boston was hurt by his wife's accusations that the middle and upper class whites laughed at them behind their backs and dismissed their marriage as a "buck and squaw affair" (Mattila 1973a, 98). She became concerned that he seemed to get along better with the Finnish, Scandinavian, and Chinese immigrants than with the town elite. Still, he managed to thrive in the fishing industry, being appointed to a high political office in Oregon to oversee operations, and earning the respect of the economic and political leaders (116–17). Nonetheless, he could never overcome his need to try too hard at impressing such leaders and the Anglo community in general. Pressed to satisfy his wife's cravings for money and status, a drunk Boston One Horse eventually fell off a boat and drowned on the Fourth of July while trying to impress everyone with his patriotic speechmaking and success in life (127). The novel at this point becomes somewhat overstated, tapping into the time-worn imagery of the "vanishing Indian" as Boston's parents, the One Horses, sell some smoked salmon to the new immigrants in Woodland, wish them well, and disappear from both the land and the story. But then, this observation is not to take away from the fact that Mattila wanted to emphasize that many Native Americans were not always able to adapt to the sudden social and cultural changes.

Beginning in the 1970s, in several special pioneer editions of its historical pamphlets, the Finnish American Historical Society had chosen to focus on homesteading because of its central importance in the Americanization process. Woodland, though not the earliest or largest Finnish pioneer community in the Pacific Northwest, had offered an ideal starting point because several Society members had managed to acquire hundreds of photographs and much written material on the homesteads, including personal recollections about life there in the early 1900s, as well as historical data and paintings on the settlement, provided by Seattle artist Earl Fields, a descendant of the first homesteader in Woodland (Mattila 1970a, 5, 7). The pamphlet was a success and later reprinted by the National Foundation for the Humanities. Mattila wove these narratives together in his semi-autobiographical

novel. He had a personal stake in exploring the varied trajectories of Americanization in rural immigrant communities. His own family had cleared out brush beside a vacated Native American trail. The Finnish homesteaders of Woodland are an example of chain migration (Healey 2011, 68–69), in which more than sixty people moved from the village of Pielavesi in eastern Finland, or Bywater, as Mattila translates it, in the early 1900s because of stories about the availability of land. Mattila visited Pielavesi in the early 1950s to study and compare the differences between the people still residing there and those persons who had moved to the United States. He had much to say about how Finns used their knowledge of old ways to adapt to a new environment. Fluent in Finnish, he contributed a number of articles to the popular journal *Suomen Kuvalehti* in the 1950s and 1960s, telling of Finnish achievements in the Pacific Northwest and the efforts of immigrants to preserve not just Finnish culture in the region, such as sauna and Sibelius, but Native American artifacts and cultural practices as well, sharing with the Finns stories from a rapidly changing multicultural world (Mattila 1954, 1957, 1963, 1967).

Among the last immigrants to arrive in the region and to try their hand at farming, Finns settled on the poorest land in the hill country rather than in the river valleys, which had an impact on how the first generation of Finnish Americans saw themselves and how their neighbors saw them. Nestor Kantonen, an ex-cavalry officer's coachman, was the first to arrive in Little Kalama and became one of its natural leaders. Mocked as a "lower class hireling" by the nobility of the Pielavesi region, Nestor still managed to acquire some of the "social shine of the horse gentry" (Mattila 1973a, 146). He had received a strong education in the literature of Finnish national romanticism and the more practical skills of horse breeding and timber and cattle farming (152–53). This gave him the self-confidence to find work in a large logging camp and to learn enough English to understand baseball and other forms of American entertainment. He also exposed other Americans to Finnish culture, inviting them over for sauna. His wife, Hella Kantanen, also had had opportunity for social improvement in Pielavesi, developing "from a poor and shy country girl in homespun to a dynamic milkmaid" able to read in English about the latest dairy practices in England (154–55). The women of the Woodland community rejected her progressive ideas, though. While the later-arriving immigrants admired Nestor for his successes, they too resented him for seeming better than them and "putting on upper class airs" (156), like naming his son Torsten Stalhandske, after "the greatest Finnish cavalryman" (194). While most of the immigrants believed education offered the best means for adapting to American society, they differed in their ideas

about its content. Unfamiliar with the idea of education as a means for social mobility and cultural enrichment, many slash-and-burn farmers wanted a practical education for their children, consisting of only what was necessary for life on the farm. As a result, many local Americans did not think Finnish immigrants would ever acquire sufficient literary skills to leave the farm and make it into the middle class (197). Mattila only indirectly addressed here the issue that many immigrants may have had little or no education themselves, may never have heard of the *Kalevala*, and may not have had much to pass on to their children about Finland other than stories of famine and poverty. In no small part, the divide between Yankee Finns in the towns, “slash-burn” Finns in the backcountry, and young Finnicans in both places had to do with what particular knowledge the parents could pass on about Finland, as well as the parents’ differing expectations for themselves and their children in the United States.

The thunderbirds represented different things for the different Finns and Native Americans in the story, but for all they represented the means of becoming more Americanized. According to Mattila, both groups had missionaries in one sense or another, mainstream Americans telling them what they needed to do in order to achieve success. For Old Country Finns from Pielavesi, the thunderbird was the American dollar, whereas for young Finnicans it was the promise of getting a good education. Many younger immigrants especially wanted to leave the farm for a better life in the city. Mattila here introduced another category of first-generation Finnish Americans to the story: Wintermen, as he called them, transient workers who worked hard even during the winter months, unlike what many peasants were accustomed to in Finland. Widowed Finnish women preferred the Wintermen to Finns who had just arrived from the Old Country because the Wintermen, a substantial segment of the population in many Finnish communities, had often lived in towns and knew what the Americans thought of Finns, knew how to talk with Americans, and often worked alongside them. But there was a trade-off. The Wintermen had also learned to appreciate the American division of labor, which encouraged women to stay in the home (Mattila 1973a, 209–10). The young Finnicans mocked the Wintermen for not understanding textbook English and for having no knowledge of art and literature. The Socialists traveling to rural communities like Woodland from the Finntowns of Portland and Astoria seemed far more Americanized to the young Finnicans than did the non-Socialist Finns (218). Even if most young Finnicans rejected the doctrine (and the idea of Socialism as thunderbird), they appreciated the means by which many young Socialists had

learned to interact with others outside the Finnish community. They had already heard that government officials had praised the immigrants as “real Americans” for being eager to start a school for their children (172). Now, they also learned that educated Americans respected those who respected their own parents and people (240). Here then, the last pages of Mattila’s last piece of writing intersect with his own experiences and central message: the Americanization process began first and foremost with acquiring a knowledge of and respect for one’s own ancestry and cultural heritage.

Walter Mattila and the Finnish American Historical Society of the West largely accomplished their objective of revitalizing an interest in Finnish ethnic identity and heritage. The Society helped organize the first Finnish language classes offered at Portland State University, as well as classes on immigrant history in the region (*FINNAM Newsletter* 1971, Vol. 6, No. 3, 2). It continued to publish historical accounts of different Finntowns in the Pacific Northwest, as well as accounts of different Finnish logging and mining camps and homesteaders, including *The Pioneer Finnish Home* (1971), which tells the story of Erik Lindgren, who built one of the best examples of an axe-hewn log cabin and sauna in the Pacific Northwest. The Society worked to preserve the Erik Lindgren home and sauna near Astoria. It also built a log cabin for the Oregon Historical Museum that celebrated the Finnish pioneer heritage (*FINNAM Newsletter* 1971, Vol. 6, No. 5, 1–2). Behind the scenes, though, not all was so rosy. Much as Mattila complained about the in-fighting among Finns in his novels, he also complained about and tried to mollify tensions between Society members. Meetings often deteriorated into rather tense and uncomfortable staring contests between older and younger Finns, with the older ones not appreciating the more Americanized forms of entertainment proposed by the second generation (*FINNAM Newsletter* 1971, Vol. 6, No. 3, 10). Likewise, Society members were not always interested in Mattila’s big ideas and proved hesitant in wanting to work on the cabin. “As a result of these unhappy experiences, the officers have become sort of bossy, like traffic cops, because their members have been so slow in budging,” conceded Mattila (1970b, 7). The officers developed a program to tap into the skills of the different members, everything from research work to documentation to archiving to photography or cooking, as a way of preserving life stories and customs. Mattila made sure to give credit in the publications to everyone who assisted with photographing and documenting Finnish American culture. The effort seemingly paid off. In 1973, the Finnish American Historical Society of the West received the National Award of Merit from the American Association of State

and Local History for preserving the uniqueness of European culture through its publications and preservation of artifacts, manuscripts, and history. It also received an American Heritage award for helping build the log cabin for the museum, and Walter Mattila in particular was credited with putting the Society on the “historical society map” (Finnish American Historical Society of the West papers). Mattila died in August 1974 while compiling a report on the Finns of Washington state.

CONCLUSION

In the 1970s, different European immigrant groups began reassessing their links to the past. The Finns in Mattila’s stories moved from homesteads to Finntowns to more middle-class lifestyles. Some, but not all, worried about losing ties with their ethnic heritage. Mattila repeatedly emphasized in his writings that it was precisely the literary and musical output, together with the shared history of working the land—in short, a shared ethnic heritage and identity—that would help Finnish “Americanness” survive. His fictionalized characters served as ideal agents for straightforwardly promoting this message of an updated Finnish “Americanness” in a culturally diverse space. In Astoria, they found common cause with other immigrant groups. Several generations removed from the ethnic struggles of the 1960s and 1970s, European ethnic identity is now more voluntary, more symbolic, and less culturally distinct (Healey 2011, 49–93). Mattila’s on-the-ground descriptions of a varied and complex acculturation process among both first- and second-generation Finnish Americans highlights the fact that individuals strategically choose what connections they will emphasize, while often downplaying or forgetting other connections. His “immigrant tales” of strong individuals struggling to fit into a rapidly changing world suggest that, rather than disappearing, Finnish ethnic identity is forever changing and evolving. In the Pacific Northwest, it has evolved particularly into a more general Nordic identity. Mattila would have celebrated this pattern. Nonetheless, multiculturalism in its various forms remains a contested and controversial idea, despite empirical evidence that cultural and ethnic distinctiveness do not take away from or work against a greater national or even transnational unity (Kivisto 2015; Elo and Hieta 2017). Mattila never married, and so it is not possible to know how a sense of Finnishness would have persisted in his immediate family. However, his life history does reveal the fact that ethnic-identity making, the process of keeping alive particular traditions and heritage celebrations, will only survive among certain people, regardless of generation, perhaps because of their family background and what stories a family chooses to keep alive and retell, if any. The

stories and traditions may vary by family and may depend on the time at which the family left its country of origin, with the stories and traditions then refashioned and updated to fit changing circumstances.

While many second-generation Finnish Americans gradually learned to mourn the loss of certain traditions, they celebrated the awakening of others. Group identity, history, and culture, the basic building blocks of ethnicity, are the result of both structure and agency, with the symbolic dimension of ethnicity being central to the ethnic construction project (Nagel 1996, 32). For Mattila, the awakening of Finnish ethnic pride was influenced both by the backlash against assimilation ignited by the civil rights movement and by an awareness of the critical role played by educated members of the second generation in providing a link between first-generation immigrants and later generations of Finnish Americans. Social interactions both within and outside local communities intersected with national and regional history and led to new ways of remembering, negotiating, and defining Finnish “Americanness.” Mattila served as a “cultural entrepreneur” of sorts, to use Crawford Young’s term, drawing on his middle-class professional and intellectual background “to assign to a particular identity a unique history and future and to generate a stock of cultural symbols that can serve to mobilize and unite group members on the group’s behalf” (Young 1976, 45–46; cited in Cornell and Hartmann 1998, 135). Admittedly, Mattila and other members of the Finnish American Historical Society of the West may have comprised only a handful of loyal ethnics at the time. They, however, helped create an array of viable cultural and ethnic symbols for later generations to access at will through heritage festivals and related activities. Mattila’s symbols may be overly romanticized and highbrow, but they did stimulate discussion, if not always acceptance. He only began actively working to preserve Finnish culture and heritage later in life after he had become established in his career and could think about easing into retirement. Importantly, he realized that the road from immigrants to “white ethnics” to Finnish Americans should not be oversimplified: it could take many interesting twists and turns through both familiar terrain and spaces influenced by both Native Americans and other immigrant groups. Walter Mattila’s efforts demonstrate that particular ethnic expressions will continue to change, emerge, or (re-)combine in unexpected and seemingly unpredictable ways (Hall 1992). They may also take forms no longer even recognized by contemporary Finns or other northern Europeans.

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LAKES, ROCK, FOREST: PLACING FINNISH CANADIAN HISTORY

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ABSTRACT

This article examines uses of landscape in Finnish Canadian autobiographical writing. By framing relationships between people and landscapes as dynamic and interactive, this analysis inquires about the persistence of the Finnish Canadian “landscape myth”—that Finns settled there *because of* the landscape. These life writing narratives are situated within the traditions of Finnish nationalism, Finnish and Canadian settler narratives, and Finnish immigration historiography, yet are viewed as examples of the diverse ways that individuals use, understand, and represent their connections with place and landscape. The article analyzes Nelma Sillanpää’s *Under the Northern Lights* (1994) and Aili Grönlund Schneider’s *The Finnish Baker’s Daughters* (1986), further contextualized by additional Finnish Canadian autobiographical works. Though focused on Finnish experiences in Canada, this work contributes to broader discourses on Finnish Great Lakes identities.

Keywords: Finnish Canadians, autobiography, landscape, place, life writing

INTRODUCTION

It is commonly heard in the Great Lakes region that Finnish immigrants settled there in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries because of the familiar

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landscape. The lakes, rock, and forest may have been a home-like environment for Finnish migrants, but settlement choices are often more complex. The realities of immigration policy, job availability, land-granting schemes, and chain-migration patterns may explain more about the history of settlement patterns.² However, the prevalence and long-term persistence of this “landscape myth” can teach us about the evolving identities and experiences of Finnish Canadian immigrants, and their affective relationships with place. Finnish immigrants have collectively participated in developing this notion, by drawing on landscape in varied and individual ways to shape their identities and to situate themselves in the world. The Finnish immigrant landscape myth can also be tied to a long history, finding voice in nineteenth-century Finnish nationalism and further perpetuated by twentieth-century Finnish North American academic discourse. Regardless of landscape’s role in determining settlement, landscape is an integral and continuing character in Finnish Canadian narratives.

This article examines Finnish Canadian autobiographical narratives as a case study for understanding the endurance and multiple meanings of the landscape myth, and for linking Finnish nationalism with the Canadian tradition of settler narratives. These narratives provide an opportunity to analyze how Finnish immigrants have represented landscape in their own words. While the discourses are situated in a Canadian context, they speak to broader Finnish Great Lakes identities and remind scholars of ethnicity of the integral role landscape plays in shaping and representing immigrant experiences. After introducing Finnish and Canadian landscape nationalisms, the article turns to the uses of place in Nelma Sillanpää’s *Under the Northern Lights* (1994) and Aili Grönlund Schneider’s *The Finnish Baker’s Daughters* (1986), further contextualized by additional Finnish Canadian autobiographical narratives. An interdisciplinary analysis of these sources situates the immigrant writers in the broader production of transnational Finnishness and allows an interrogation of how landscape serves the construction and maintenance of both personal and collective identities.³

2 Key studies about Finnish settlement in Canada include Saarinen 1999; Lindström 1992; Kero 1996; Roinila 2000; and Karni 1981. Important Finnish American studies include Engle 1975; Ross 1978; Karni et al. 1988; Kaunonen 2009; and Kostiaainen 2014.

3 These two works are the most widely available Finnish Canadian autobiographies. The fact that the Finnish Canadian diaspora has produced a rather small collection of published migration memoirs and autobiographies, in stark contrast to the extensive corpus of works by Finns in the United States, merits further study and analysis.

LIFE WRITING AND LANDSCAPE

The narratives are brought together under the umbrella of *life writing*, providing a framework for exploring how individuals have interpreted and narrated their experiences.⁴ Life writing reveals both the conventions and patterns in the narration of experience, and the multitude of individual attitudes, impressions, and representations. In the introduction to *Nordic Landscapes* (2008), editors Michael Jones and Kenneth R. Olwig reflect on key studies of landscape. They position Michael P. Conzen's 1990 anthology *The Making of the American Landscape* as a model because the work is "both lively and personal, as any book about place ought to be" (Jones and Olwig 2008, xii). This line resonates with students of life writing—perhaps no source type can prove more lively and personal. As much as life writing is about the people who tell their stories, these texts are *about* and *of* the places in which these lives are set. In "Reflections on the Historical Landscapes of Finland," W. R. Mead (2008) notes that it is difficult to ascertain how Finns in the past "looked upon the landscape that was the setting for their daily lives" (425–26). However, Mead accepts that "[d]oubtless, it was simply accepted for what it was" (426). Such a conclusion proves unsatisfactory. Finnish immigrant life writing demonstrates that the natural environment serves as an actor in the daily experiences narrated; to gain entry into these narrated worlds, the role of landscape must be integrated into the reading of these sources.

This article primarily utilizes the term *landscape* in its discussion of place. This terminological choice is a nod to the historical uses of "landscape" in the Finnish and Canadian projects of nation-making. However, the fluid definitions of both *landscape* and *place*—let alone *space*—continue to be significant in history, geography, philosophy, literature, and gender and cultural studies, among other disciplines.⁵ Therefore, it is useful to situate Finnish North American landscape within this dialogue. The concept of *landscape* is, as Tim Cresswell has put it, "an intensely visual idea" (2004, 10). The word *landscape* does inherently evoke the act of looking and perspective taking, a notion very successfully explored by Lea Rojola in "From High in the Hills Down to the Marshes: Nation, Nature, and Gender in Finnish Literature" (2009). This actor-viewing-object positioning suggests a one-directional process of meaning-making, which occurs through distance and contrast. Cresswell goes so far as to say, "We do not live in landscape—we look at it" (2004, 11).

4 Key studies of life writing include Smith and Watson 2010; Kadar 1992; Fitzpatrick 1994; Gerber 2006; and Kadar et al. 2005.

5 Of ongoing importance in defining the concepts are Tuan 1977; Cosgrove and Daniels 1988; Lefebvre 1991; Massey 1998.

However, contemporary landscape painting, such as the work of Canadian painter Luke Nicol (www.lukenicol.com), vividly reminds us that landscapes are not only viewed and experienced from the vantage point of distant vistas, landscapes are also close, everyday, and raw. In this way, people live in landscapes, and *landscape*, as used in this article, is taken as dynamic and interactive. This conceptualization also acknowledges the liveliness of landscape so powerfully captured in Keith H. Basso's *Wisdom Sits in Places* (1996).

Landscape is unique to its time and broader place in Finnish immigrant history, as well as to each narrator's sense of identity. Individuals and communities construct landscapes, but landscape also has agency and "communicates to us" (Monk 1984, 23). This article strives to highlight the physical and tangible nature of landscape, as well as people's interactions with their environment. This is a response to works on landscape that take the physical environment for granted. For example, though providing a thoughtful analysis of how a move away from lyric poetry has allowed a deeper expression of Finnish American identities, Andrew Grace's "Landscape and Identity in Finnish-American Poetry" features very little landscape (2007). Grace convincingly demonstrates that the Minnesota landscape was crucial to identity formation, yet the landscape itself is not presented with any agency. Anne Whiston Spirn has argued that landscape is "loud with dialogues" and that only the concept of *landscape* sufficiently captures the "embeddedness" of people and place (1998, 17). Landscape carries, to use Raija Taramaa's words, "history, memories, myths, moods, and smells" (2007, 143).

Kirsten Hastrup argues that the landscape "is not simply a surface, or a stage upon which people play their social roles; it is part of the social space" (2008, 53). As a "social space," then, Hastrup compellingly demonstrates how landscape for the Icelandic is "deeply historicized" and "imbued with emotion" (53–54). In the case of Finnish Canadian narratives, landscape is historically grounded in the tradition of Finnish connections and relationships with nature and also in the settler narratives of Canada. Narrations of landscape following these traditions carry emotional charge, seen in both positive and negative identifications. "Sense of place" is formed through feeling, which involves both individuals and collectives (Rose 1995, 88–89). Landscape is integral to writing about Finnish immigrant sociability. Emotional uses of landscape also highlight the ambivalent roles of both "wilder-ness" and urban landscaping in the immigrants' sense of self and place in Canada. Rojola reminds us that "[l]andscape is always somebody's landscape" (2009, 105). In

Finnish Canadian life writing, landscape finds form and meaning through a complex layering of traditions, expectations, and viewpoints.

USES OF LANDSCAPE IN FINNISH NATION-BUILDING

The Finnish word *maa* refers to land, soil, dirt, and ground, but also to countryside, nation, world, and earth. The natural earth and the constructed world are linked in the Finnish language. Nature and landscape have played an important role in the assertion of Finnish identity and nationalism. While Finnish people's personal and communal relationships with the forest and waterways have ancient roots, nineteenth-century Finnish intelligentsia utilized landscape to claim a Finnish nation and character distinct from the Swedish and Russian. These visions of Finland were commonly voiced through works in the language of nineteenth-century Finland's educated classes: Swedish. Perhaps owing to the challenge posed by the language question, the Finnish landscape came to serve as a powerful tool. This "Finnish" landscape-oriented nationalism, though having its unique characteristics, can also be viewed as an extension of its time's broader Western landscape nationalism, borrowing from French and German naturalism and romanticism (see, e.g., Landon 1999). Though some viewed closeness with nature as a sign of Finnish primitiveness and a lack of culture, and as something to be overcome,⁶ the national landscape, nonetheless, persevered as the dominant symbol of Finnishness. Literature and the visual arts were the primary vehicle for elaborating this image and connection. Perhaps the example best known outside of Finland is the epic *Kalevala*, published in 1835 and expanded in 1849. It tells the tale of the Finnish people and their deep connection to nature, collected orally from Karelian villages by Elias Lönnrot. The agency of nature is vividly portrayed and, as Alvar Aalto noted, in the *Kalevala*, "every element is nature, constantly alive" (Ivask 1980, 5). The impact of the *Kalevala* on Finnish people's sense of self has extended to North America, and Finnish North Americans several generations removed from the Finnish landscape still turn to its imagery to define and reimagine notions of Finnishness in personalized ways.

As with the epic *runos*, Finnish identity and Finnish views of landscape have also been shaped by *Maamme kirja* (Book of our land). Zacharias Topelius (1818–98), scholar of history, theology, medicine, and geography, was closely linked to

6 Östman (2008) has offered an insightful gendered reading of Finnish connections to nature and shown the ways that Finnish historian Väinö Voionmaa (1869–1947) de-emphasized nature in order to depict Finns as manly, rational, and civilized.

prominent Finnish nationalists, including the national poet Johan Ludvig Runeberg. Deeply religious, Topelius believed that God had a special plan for Finland, having blessed it in size and beauty (Tiitta 1994, 106). Topelius argued that education had to be “lively” (Fin. *elävä*) and speak to the experiences of contemporary Finns, and he devoted much of his career to writing children’s texts (Tiitta 1994, 106). Topelius’s *Boken om vårt land* was originally published in Swedish in 1875 and the Finnish-language *Maamme kirja* appeared in 1876. It became the school geography reader until the 1950s. By the 1990s, 2,500,000 copies of *Maamme kirja* had been printed in the small nation of Finland.⁷ The influence of the work has been vast.

Maamme kirja introduced generations of Finns to the geography, history, and society of their *isänmaa* (fatherland) through carefully crafted narratives, poems, songs, and images. After the introductory “*Aamulaulu*” (Morning song), young readers were guided to think about the comfort and familiarity of their homes, and their deep love for this place. These reflections of home then led to bigger contemplations about the meaning of *isänmaa*. While it was easy for children to understand their love of home, it was much more abstract to imagine the vastness of nation:

A lot is different there than at our home. The roads are different, the houses are different, the people are different. I might even get lost there, where I’ve never been. No one knows me there and I don’t know anyone either. How can I love a strange land [*maa*]! How can I be happy, cheerful, and familiar with strangers!”⁸ (Topelius [1876] 1934, 8)

As a solution, Finnish landscape and nature is integrated into each component of *Maamme kirja*, making the fatherland as familiar as the mountain ash, birch, berries, and lake of the homestead (Topelius [1876] 1934, 7–8).

The Topelian vision of Finland, as characterized by its diverse landscape, successfully captured the spirit of contemporary geopolitical, cultural, and social developments. As influential as *Maamme kirja* was, its readers, nonetheless, applied their own experiences, local upbringing, and relationships with nature to their interpretations of its lessons. As Reino Kero (1974) has shown, by the 1870s, Finnish

7 Consider that the Finnish population was approximately 2.6 million in 1900, 4 million in 1950, and just under 5 million in 1990 (Miettinen 2009, 1).

8 Translated by author. Original text is the following: “Paljonhan siellä on toisin kuin meillä kotona. Tiet ovat toisenlaiset, talot ovat toisenlaiset, ihmiset ovat toisenlaiset. Saatanhan eksyä siellä, missä en ikinä ole ollut. Kukaan ei minua siellä tunne enkä minäkään ketään tunne. Kuinka saatan vierasta maata rakastaa! Kuinka saatan olla onnellinen, iloinen ja tuttavallinen vierasten ihmisten luona!” (Topelius [1876] 1934, 8).

people were becoming more mobile, with spheres of movement and interaction expanding outward. This mobility allowed people to develop new and varying views of their surroundings. Finnish immigrants in Canada could also be connected to the Topelius landscape and homeland. Many had read *Maamme kirja* themselves at school in Finland, while others discovered it in North America among the precious Finnish books in the family collection or from an immigrant-community lending library. Even if they had had no direct engagement with *Maamme kirja*, parents often passed along ideas about the Topelian Finnish landscape, ensuring that second-generation Finnish immigrants were exposed to this world orientation. The above-quoted passage resounds in an immigrant context. When faced with uncertainties and the challenge of loving a strange land, Finnish immigrants could, again, turn to nature and the landscape to make the unknown *familiar* (used with all its connotations of connection, belonging, and ownership).

LANDSCAPE IN (FINNISH) CANADIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

Though Finnish enclaves could be found scattered across North America, the impact of the Finnish presence was most pronounced around the Great Lakes. Northern Ontario and the Lake Superior and Lake Huron regions were home to a significant percentage of the approximately 44,000 Finns who lived in Canada in 1931 (Dominion Bureau of Statistics Canada 1931, Table 4). It is also this rugged landscape that made the Finnish immigrant landscape myth possible. While the Finnish immigrants themselves made their place in these North American environments through an array of strategies and identifications, scholars interested in understanding these migrant communities found a “natural” point of interest in the landscape. Take, for example, Eugene Van Cleef (1887–1983), a U.S. American Professor of Geography at The Ohio State University and an early scholar of Finnish North Americans (American Philosophical Society Archives website). Van Cleef studied Finnish settlement patterns in Canada and the United States and actively correlated landscape in Finland to North American settlement choice. In a 1952 *Geographical Review* article, “Finnish Settlement in Canada,” Van Cleef states, “With few exceptions, the Finns in Canada reside where both the terrain and the climate resemble those of their native land” (253). Making his position clear, he continues, “[t]o be sure, no ‘Canadian Rockies’ rise majestically from Finland’s surface. But neither have large numbers of Finns settled in the Rockies.” Without the appropriate landscape, such a claim suggests, there could be no Finns. Van Cleef’s depictions

empower the landscape with the ability to lure the Finnish people and the landscape myth entrenched its presence in Finnish North American historiography.

Varpu Lindström's study of Finnish Canadian women, first a 1986 York University doctoral dissertation and then published and popularized in 1988 by the Multicultural History Society of Ontario, stands as a symbol of a new wave of Finnish immigrant historiography, firmly rooted among its time's social and feminist histories. Already in the third paragraph of *Defiant Sisters*, the Finnish-Canadian landscape overlap is introduced: "[h]abitation is made possible by the Gulf Stream, which has a tempering effect on the Finnish climate. Hence much of the land resembles northern Ontario" (Lindström 1988, 8). Lindström, however, complicates the claims of the landscape myth:

Finnish immigrants were attracted to Ontario because here they could combine wage work with a setting similar to Finland. The women described the clear lakes, the beautiful birch trees, and the moss on the smooth granite rocks. "It was just like home!" But beauty was not enough, and economic considerations superseded aesthetic ones. If, however, the Finns could combine both, [. . .] it was a happy occurrence. (Lindström 1988, 33)

Though demonstrating how practicalities determined settlement, Lindström nonetheless maintains the significance of the landscape's allure, as evidenced through the words of oral history interviewee Helmi Vanhatalo: "I had to see a tree, I could almost taste the smell of a pine tree. I longed for enough fresh water to have a good bath. Eventually it became an obsession" (Lindström 1988, 33). The inherentness of Finnish immigrants' call to the land promoted in the tradition of Finnish nationalism, by scholars of Finnish North America, and in the immigrants' own narrations, then, compounded to strengthen the landscape myth.

To further entangle Finnish North American landscape narrations, the life writing can also be seen to exist within the context of a long tradition of Canadian settler narratives and (settler) nationalist identities that rely on landscape imagery.⁹ Ramsay Cook identifies contrast and the landscape as Canada's two strategies, in the colonial project of nation-building, for establishing its distinctiveness from "Americanness" (1974, 263). Canadian landscape painting, epitomized in the twentieth century by

9 In the Canadian context, most often the contrasting autobiographical works of sisters Catharine Parr Trill (1836) and Susanna Moodie ([1852] 1970) come to mind. Schissel (2004) analyzes American pioneer women's narratives.

the work of the Group of Seven, created the national image that made Canada stand apart from the European tradition, relying on “rich and novel” landscapes (Cook 1974, 270).¹⁰ Claiming ownership of the national landscape through art and literature further served as a tool to legitimate the appropriation of Indigenous lands. Finnish immigrant life writing, like autobiographical works representing a range of ethnic identifications, can be read as attempts to establish a place for the narrators and their community in the broader Canadian or U.S. American national narratives. Many of the life writers and many more in the general population of Finnish immigrants acutely felt language, class, and gender disadvantages in North America; life writing provided an opportunity to work through some of those challenges. Emphasizing contributions to society and oneness with the adopted landscape was an important strategy for claiming North American space.

Without diminishing personal hardships or the impact of outsider status, Finnish immigrants are often able to make such claims by leaning on their white, Christian, European privilege (Kendall 2002). This relative ease stands in contrast to, for example, the black Canadian women writers studied by Sharon Morgan Beckford (2008), who “demonstrate what it means to live in a state of ‘systemic Blacklessness,’ always having to invent and reinvent, assert and reassert the self in relation to place” (464). Similarly, Eleanor Ty (2010) has found that Asian Canadian narratives challenge the landscape expectations established by white, Anglo, European settler narratives.¹¹ The writers studied by Ty “focus on interior rather than exterior scenes, on psychic states rather than on physical landscapes” (163). The Canadian wilderness landscape does not appear as a place of peace or empowerment in their narratives. Access to and intimate knowledge of landscape may be seen as essential to establishing and claiming place identity. The fact that the North American boreal forest and rocky Great Lakes, where most Finnish immigrants settled, so closely resemble the forested environment of Finland that it enables the Finnish immigrant landscape myth further speaks to the privileged position these immigrants held in making place claims on North American history and landscape. This landscape similarity aids Finnish immigrants to implicitly assert a “natural” place in Canada and the United States, which may not befit the experiences of Caribbean, African, and Asian immi-

10 Cook quoting a *Quebec Gazette* art critic in 1883.

11 While Ty’s argument is convincing and her work an important contribution to expanding the diversity of voices representing Canadian immigrant experiences, the article’s “European” counterweight seems to mean only Anglo women. A more nuanced analysis of Europeaness would result in a richer and more complex view of place and belonging in Canada.

grant life writers. "Landscape," as Rojola reminds us, "is not just the land itself but the land seen from a particular point of view or perspective" (Rojola 2009, 105).

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHIES OF SILLANPÄÄ AND GRÖNLUND SCHNEIDER

Two Finnish Canadian perspectives are offered by Nelma Sillanpää's *Under the Northern Lights: My Memories of Life in the Finnish Community of Northern Ontario* and Aili Grönlund Schneider's *The Finnish Baker's Daughters*. A comparative analysis of these works is well suited, as the two women came to Northern Ontario within a year of each other, and both eventually made Timmins their home. Both life stories represent fairly typical working-class Finnish Canadian experiences, echoing the historical findings of Lindström (2010), Saarinen (1999), Kero (1996), and others. Sillanpää, maiden name Johnson, was a second-generation Finn, born in Warren, Ohio, in 1917, who moved to Canada as a four-year-old girl. Johnson experienced life in several of Northern Ontario's bush camps and communities, and her life story shows a family on the move in search of work.¹² Aili Grönlund, on the other hand, was born in Turku, Finland, and was already fifteen when her family moved to Timmins from Helsinki in 1922.

While the timing of settlement was the same for both the Johnson and Grönlund families, the life writers viewed Northern Ontario through different geocultural perspectives and from different points in their life cycles. Janice Monk has emphasized the importance of life cycle in shaping perceptions of landscape (1984, 29). Looking back at the age of four, as compared to fifteen, brings up very different types of memories and emotions, and, therefore, the forms of the life writers' reflexive narrative self-positioning vary. Furthermore, it is worth keeping in mind that the life writers' mature adult perceptions of landscape can impact how landscape experiences from their youth are presented.

The two life-writing sources, furthermore, present themselves in different ways. *The Finnish Baker's Daughters*, published in 1986, considers itself an "autobiographical novel," though the author serves as the narrator (Grönlund Schneider 1986, 11). *Under the Northern Lights* was published in 1994 and positions itself as traditional autobiography. Perhaps owing to these differences in perspective and approach, the contrast between Sillanpää and Schneider's depictions of landscape, wilderness, and place proves striking. Yet, even with their differences, the works

12 For more about Finnish immigrant labor transiency, see Campbell 2008; Radforth 1987; Lindström 2010.

collectively demonstrate the use of established tropes in both Finnish and Canadian representations of landscape.

In Nelma Sillanpää's autobiography, the Northern Ontario landscape is ever-present, welcome, and beautiful. The autobiography's title, *Under the Northern Lights*, places her in direct relation with nature. Jennifer Eastman Attebery's (2007) analysis of Swedish American life writers' metonymical self-placement "in," "out," and "under" nature can be extended to Sillanpää's relationship with the landscape (116–18). The lakes, rocks, and forests of Sillanpää's world are described, named, and decorated with adjectives. The scenery is "beautiful," the lakes "gorgeous," and the bays "lovely" (for example, Sillanpää 1994, 9, 12, 13, 19). Elliott Lake, Ontario, is described as a "jewel in the wilderness," which well sums up Sillanpää's view of her natural environment (106). Sillanpää's life story tells of growing up with parents who worked in the bush, and, as a child, she played in the bush camp clearings. The natural environment was very much a part of her upbringing and appears to have made a significant foundational impression. Place-based identity was particularly strong and positive in Sillanpää's case.

This place identity was called into question when she initially moved to Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, where she lived for a year as a newlywed after World War II. At first, the foreign landscape signified the major change that she was experiencing. "The scenery was very bleak and monotonous," wrote Sillanpää, "with nothing to see but snow and ice—and a few trees" (1994, 74). The landscape of the Northwest Territories, in its depicted absence, stood in contrast to the richness and abundance of nature in Northern Ontario. The absence of landscape or its invisibility caused by a cover of snow is also employed as a marker of change, difference, and hardship in Sirpa Kaukinen's Finnish Canadian immigrant story, "Ensimmäinen talvi" ("The first winter") (Kaukinen 1979, 46). One of the most striking passages of Sillanpää's autobiography, however, comes as she describes the end of her time in the arctic north, before returning to Timmins:

It took only a winter of snow and bitterly cold weather to make me appreciate the beauty of this land in the spring—the vast territory of rocks and cliffs, the beautiful skies and the deep blue waters of Great Slave Lake. I felt a little sadness when I thought of leaving. I also knew that, were we to stay longer, the land would get into our blood and we would become true Yellowknifers. (Sillanpää 1994, 84)

The emotionally charged imagery of land entering blood is significant. It suggests a fluidity between person and landscape and demonstrates the active role of landscape in making people—both *a* people (Yellowknifers) and a person (transforming an individual). Such powerful imagery leaves unanswered the question of how Sillanpää saw Northern Ontario flowing in her blood.

In the case of Aili Grönlund Schneider, place identity works as an identification *against* her new position and landscape in Canada. The landscape of Timmins is largely absent from the life writing, though the introduction informs readers that the town was “perched on the gold-rich rock of northern Ontario” and that the “wide Mattagami River ran through it” (Grönlund Schneider 1986, 13, 20). These informative descriptions do not display the positive emotional rhetoric of connection so present in Sillanpää’s writing, but instead evoke the powerful, masculine grandiloquence of Canadian nationalist discourse.¹³ Few kind words about the region’s landscape can be found. Timmins and Canada, in Grönlund Schneider’s narration, were “raw” and “backwoods,” and the winds were “fierce” and “beat down” on the forlorn newcomers (14, 20). In fact, in contrast to Sillanpää’s “beautiful Algoma District,” for Grönlund Schneider’s family, her mother in particular, Timmins was only worthy of the name “this place” (13).

However, for Grönlund Schneider, Finnish nature was kind and beautiful and worthy of care. Having left Finland as a teenager, the actual and emotional place value of Finland holds a first-hand position for Grönlund Schneider, who could vividly recall her Finnish home (and, though speculation, perhaps even her school lessons in Topelius’s *Maamme kirja*). For Sillanpää, born in North America, attachment to Finland was established through second-hand transference from her parents and the Finnish immigrant community. Despite Grönlund Schneider’s own frame of reference, her mother’s opinions serve as the narrative’s dialectic between beautiful Finland and detestable Canada, whose shores the family was “dumped” upon (Grönlund Schneider 1986, 17). Mother loved Finland and Helsinki: “She loved the sea, the rocky islands that shielded the city from open water and the long lovely inlets . . .” (14). Grönlund Schneider’s writing does not pronounce feelings toward Finland in the narrative “I.” Beth L. Virtanen (2006) has analyzed Grönlund Schneider’s work as a first-generation immigrant endeavor to preserve Finnish memory and heritage for future generations, which may, in part, account for the positive emphasis on Finnish landscape. However, as Virtanen contends, “no amount of re-enactment can

13 See for example the discussion in Russell 1966.

mitigate the effects of alienation” that Grönlund Schneider’s narrative conveys so strongly (9).

The Canadian outdoors were unwelcoming, and “this place” is depicted primarily from the inside out in *The Finnish Baker’s Daughters*. For example, the primary flora found in the autobiographical novel are the houseplants that create a civilized and respectful air to the family home. The reader is introduced to the flower arrangements on the daily coffee table, and the year-round indoor flowers that Mother carefully tends (Grönlund Schneider 1986, 36, 85). Again, it seems as if only Finnish nature is acceptable, since Mother’s houseplants are grown from seeds sent from Finland (85). It is noteworthy that even the arrival of spring is described from the vantage point of the domestic interior: “After many months we were actually able to see through our windows!” (60). The prominent description of interior domestic spaces offered by Grönlund Schneider places her narrative in a broader tradition of women’s life writing. While women’s life writing often details interior spaces, filling rooms with described furniture, food, and household items, such descriptions are much rarer in men’s narratives (for example, Saramo 2014, 162–63). Veli Eronen’s (2001) autobiography, *Kanadan kutsu* (Canada’s call) compares to *The Finnish Baker’s Daughters* in that both are focused on their family’s daily life in the early phases of Canadian settlement and both are set primarily indoors. However, while Grönlund Schneider’s family home is vividly portrayed, Eronen’s narration offers dialogue and images of people, but the setting remains undeveloped.

NARRATIONS OF WILDERNESS

The Finnish Canadian life writers utilize dichotomized wilderness description, much in the tradition of both North American settler narratives and Finnish writing. The duality of human relationships with wilderness has been much analyzed by scholars from many disciplinary backgrounds, and Roderick Nash’s *Wilderness and the American Mind* (1973) remains an influential work in this field. Wilderness is beautiful, spiritual, and carries connotations of home, but wilderness is also fearsome and dangerous. Nelma Sillanpää’s narrative moves between the two points of view quite quickly. A particular bush camp area was “densely covered with trees” and “thick bush” with “wild animals” and unknown dangers (Sillanpää 1994, 9). However, it was also “a wild and naturally beautiful place” where children loved to explore (though within the safety parameters set out by adults). Sillanpää’s autobiography also demonstrates the differentiation between wilderness and landscape. Another bush camp’s setting keeps young Nelma close to her mother’s cook shack: “I was

too scared to go far because the clearing was very little—and the bush was so near” (Sillanpää 1994, 25). Visibility is an important factor in the construction of landscape (Rojola 2009). This particular wilderness is not appealing because the proximity of the forest does not allow for a comfortable vantage point. The border space between the people’s camp and the unknown is limited. The clearing being “very little” signals the liminal space of the camp on the border of wilderness and constructed landscape.

Just as Sillanpää could fear the forest as a child, Ari Aukusti Lehtinen has elaborated on a broader “landscape of fear” present in Finnish attitudes toward nature (Lehtinen 2008, 478, referencing Tuan 1979). Like Nash, Lehtinen argues—in familiar form—that “domination” has been the response to trying to overcome this fear.¹⁴ Lehtinen writes:

Cultural continuity in Finland has always been focused on the question of the success of living in and off the forests. Every generation has been forced to face this challenge: a realm of necessities caused by conditions in the northern backwoods. The Finnish forest landscape is a mirror of historical experiences, and it reflects and contains the Finnish attitudes toward forest, land, and nature in general. This historical forest ethos, sedimented in the landscape, is a kind of largely agreed and adopted mental orientation, within which human creativity is mainly aimed toward expanding control over the natural environment. (Lehtinen 2008, 463–64)

Lehtinen’s Finnish “forest ethos” of domination can also be applied to the Canadian state’s expansionist mentality, carried out by immigrants, charged with settling forests and plains. Finnish Canadian collective history and many life writing narratives strongly evoke a sense of identity that finds meaning through the immigrants’ *sisu*—conceived of as a uniquely Finnish characteristic of perseverance, determination, and “guts”—in not only overcoming the challenges of wilderness but thriving in the difficult natural setting (on *sisu*, see Taramaa 2007).

In order to overcome wilderness, the presence of other Finns is emphasized in the Finnish Canadian narratives. For example, Grönlund Schneider (1986) recounts the tale of her brothers-in-law setting off through bush and over rivers to find their new homesteading sites (88–91). The two greenhorns are terrified by the wilderness, the ominous night, and by the howling of wolves. On their second day, the

14 For Nash (1973), darkness is a further key determinant of this fear.

men set sail on their small raft. “When they had sailed for what they thought must have been miles,” Grönlund Schneider narrates, they spot a sign of habitation (91). The men yell out “hello” and a man comes to the shore. Grönlund Schneider writes: “‘Hello, hello,’ the man called. Both boys stopped still. From his accent they knew the man was a Finn” (91). This Finnish man rescues the new homesteaders, and readers gain the impression that the Finnishness of the savior is a crucial factor in overcoming the wilderness. The unharnessed wilderness of Pike Lake, Ontario, in the late 1920s, is similarly depicted as being tamed by the presence of other Finns. In the narratives of both Klaus Maunu (2007) and Eini Tuomi, the building of the road in the early 1930s was an immense source of pride; the fact that it was built by the Finns made a significant contribution to its value in place identity (Eini Tuomi interviews with author 2012).

The important position of fellow Finns in landscape descriptions can be viewed as an extension of the historical Finnish *talkoohenki*, defined by Taramaa as the “[s]pirit of cooperation for the common good” (Taramaa 2007, 116). The concept refers to communal work, such as building Finnish immigrant halls and collectively clearing fields, but it is also firmly rooted in the ancient wilderness, where conditions demanded cooperation for survival (151). While *talkoohenki* was practical, it also provided emotional peace of mind. Describing his childhood homestead, quite isolated in the Northwestern Ontario bush, Maunu wrote about the presence of the Finnish Järvi family at the end of the lake, which made the Maunus feel “not completely alone in the middle of the wilderness” (3).¹⁵

THE SOCIAL LANDSCAPE

Just as Finns served a significant role in making the wilderness familiar and accessible, the Finnish Canadian narratives demonstrate the ways that nature served as a part of the social space with strong ties to leisure and community.¹⁶ In particular, trees are linked with sociability in the life writing sources. Sillanpää (1994) describes the tree at the front of the Finnish Hall in Bruce Mines, Ontario, with “heavy branches starting near the bottom—something like an upside down umbrella” (22). She remembers that “many pleasant hours were spent in the shade of that tree by children playing games, adults talking and visiting, or lovers cooling

15 Translation by the author. Original text: “ei sitä ihan yksin keskellä korpea oltu” (Maunu 2007, 3).

16 This contrasts with the narratives of Asian Canadian writers, for whom “[n]atural landscapes are not represented as recreational spaces or places to commune with nature, but places of hard work” (Ty 2010, 169).

off between dances” (22). Sillanpää also fondly recalls trees at the Finnish co-op’s Idle Hour Park in Timmins, where time was spent enjoying friends’ company on the benches beneath the trees (44–45). While Sillanpää’s descriptions speak to her own personal memories of these trees and their surrounding landscapes, her depictions can also be read as a collective commemoration of this space. The trees stand as a symbol of an idyllic Finnish immigrant collective past that once was. The use of trees as a marker of social space can also be found in Grönlund Schneider’s narrative. However, again, the idealized past is portrayed through Finnish landscape, not Canadian. Grönlund Schneider (1986) narrates Midsummer “walks amongst white birches on velvety paths of fresh green moss,” where people “made young, lifelong promises of friendship and fell in love” (61). This description of positive, vivid, and lively Finnish nature serves as a contrast to the lack of activity in Northern Ontario at *Juhannus*. In these descriptions, the natural setting, and trees in particular, are an integrated and active part of the narrator’s “memory world” (Armstrong 2004).

Though humans were to take charge of nature, there is always a lamenting of wilderness lost or landscape altered. Sillanpää (1994) remembers the whirring of the new generator, introduced at a childhood bush camp, seeming foreign and unnatural in the quiet of the comfortable wilderness (24–25). Likewise, she narrates distress and sadness when a favorite outdoor space, also an important site of the Finnish immigrant community, is turned into a parking lot (99). It should have been, in Sillanpää’s view, turned into a park; the natural landscape would have paid proper homage to the value of the place’s past. With common ambivalence, for all that it brought to Maunu and Tuomi, the Pike Lake Road took away some of the idyll of the community (Eini Tuomi interview 2012).

CONCLUSION

Burt Rairamo’s autobiographical short story, “A Sauna Junket at Lake Wilcox,” provides a first-person narration of a “Thursday evening, July 1959,” when six Finnish Canadian youths cruised from Toronto to the Finnish immigrant saunas on Lake Wilcox (Rairamo 2000, 64). The story presents young Finnish masculinity as urbanized and modern, but in a not-so-remote natural setting and in the company of fellow Finns, the young men find their peace. Rairamo’s story concludes:

As the bright moon appeared high above Lake Wilcox and lowered its silvery moon-beams across the small lake, thus ended the sauna outing for a group of immigrant teenage boys in the late 1950s. We were eagerly

experiencing life in Canada but much of it still within a Finnish context although the inevitable changes were seen and felt coming to us all, to some faster than to others. (Rairamo 2000, 69)

Nature, with the shift from day to night, guides Rairamo's characters from boisterous fun to introspection. In the outdoors, the narrator feels the competing pulls of a Finnish upbringing and tradition and the Canadian present.

Rairamo's description typifies Finnish immigrant writing and demonstrates the assertion of an emerging Finnish Canadian identity. Commenting on the prevalence of saunas, birches, and lakes in Finnish North Americans' writing, Nyman (2010) contends: "While the references to some of the markers of identity may appear cliché-like for a reader approaching them from a Finnish perspective, in their own North American context they are rather markers of difference specifying the Finnish identity and its particular characteristics" (99). In their life writing, Finnish Canadians represent nature in ways unique to their individual perspectives, but they also draw on both North American and Finnish ways of approaching the landscape.

Maamme kirja introduced Finnish children to proverbs that could help to make sense of one's place in the world; many are nature analogies. One such proverb reads: "One's own lands are most beloved / one's own forests most pleasing" (Topelius [1876] 1934, 178).¹⁷ The proverb speaks to belonging, familiarity, and to the Finns' home in nature. By utilizing landscape in their life writing and collective history-making, Finnish North Americans have claimed a place in their adopted homeland. If you travel to the Great Lakes region today, it will not take long to hear that Finnish immigrants moved there because the land is just like in Finland. This "myth"—or immigration simplification—empowers the landscape to pull people in and suggests an essential synergy between Finns and nature. Through narrations of landscape, Finnish immigrants and descendants express diverse identities and reveal their personal relationships with lakes, rock, and forest.

17 Translated by author. Original text: "Omat maat on armahimmat / omat metsät mieluusimmat."

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THE APPLE NEVER FALLS FAR FROM THE TREE—OR DOES IT? FINNISH FEMALE MIGRANT TRANSNATIONAL GENERATIONS ON THE SWEDISH LABOR MARKET

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ABSTRACT

Migration from Finland to Sweden has taken place throughout times, yet the Westward migration reached its peak during the 1960s and 1970s: half a million Finns migrated to Sweden, predominately motivated by employment opportunities. This article is about Finnish female labor migrants, their daily experiences in the Swedish labor market, and the experiences of these labor migrants' transnational generations. We studied the education, career choices, and occupational opportunities of both groups and found that little upward mobility can be detected. This, however, does not translate to dissatisfaction in the women we studied; on the contrary, both generations were content with their careers. In our data, the experience of the Finnish language as a burden in a professional setting seems to have carried over to the next generation, as only a few spoke of their bilingualism as a real asset.

Keywords: education, female migrants, migrant occupations, Sweden Finns, transnational generations

INTRODUCTION

Like father, like son; an apple never falls far from the tree—we all are familiar with these proverbial sayings. Many cultures share the idea which these sayings convey:

¹ The authors of this article have worked together, and the names appear in alphabetical order. All parts have been co-authored.

habits, preferences, and ways of living are passed on from one generation to the next, such notions assuming that no major changes are to be expected in the paths of generations. To a certain extent this is true: for instance, in the area of education, children of parents with an advanced degree are still more likely to graduate from high school and go to college than children of high school dropouts (see Pugsley and Coffey 2002; Galotti and Mark 1994; David, Ball, Davies, and Reay 2003; Lichtenstein, Pedersen, and McClearn 1992; Jacobsen 1999; Kniveton 2004). Wealth, political affiliations, and spending habits are often passed down from one generation to the next (Ball, Bowe, and Gewirtz 1995). In this article, we look at the case of Finnish immigrant women who migrated to Sweden during the 1960s and 1970s, and their daughters' generation. We are primarily interested in exploring education, work, life experiences, and career paths for both generations. How far or how close do the apples fall from the tree, when the tree is transplanted to a new environment with a new language, habits, and expectations? Our aim is not only to add post-war female daily experiences to the study of Finnish migrants in Sweden, the experience that memory organizations have largely neglected (Snellman 2010), but also to take the next logical step and include their daughters' generation as well. By taking these steps, we are able to look at the Finnish case against the backdrop of Finnish immigrants and their transnational generations in Sweden.

This article also reports on an experiment: to what extent does our thesis, an apple never falls far from the tree, hold when Mothers and Daughters are not real mothers and daughters,² but from different families from different parts of Sweden? In other words, are we thus able to detect patterns of education or career choices spanning over generations of women, instead of observing certain family traditions being passed on to the next generation? Do apples of "immigrant trees" fall close to, or perhaps roll far away from the mother tree?

We were inspired to combine our data sets also to discuss Snellman's (2003) and Ågren's (2006) earlier studies with Finnish immigrants and their transnational generations. Snellman and Ågren studied Finnish immigrants in Gothenburg in the early 2000s, and interviews with parents and their actual children formed the empirical data of their research project. The researchers were interested in the inter-generational experiences of growing up with a Finnish background in Sweden. Snellman and Ågren ran into problems, both ethical and practical, soon after starting the interviews: it proved difficult, if not impossible, to keep the research

2 In this article, we refer to Snellman's research data with the capitalized Mothers, and to Weckström's data with capitalized Daughters.

subjects anonymous. The researchers could recognize their interviewees' children/parents in each other's data. If the researchers could recognize children and parents from the data, most likely the interviewees could as easily do the same. In addition, readers might recognize research participants in the final written product. It might not have been a problem per se for a mother to merely recognize her daughter (or a daughter to recognize her mother) from an interview excerpt that was used in the final report, but it might have been painful to read her own daughter's experiences involving delicate family matters, conflicting recollections of events, or her child's sad memories concerning the Finnish family background. Yet, hurt feelings aside, it is unethical to present such data in which the research participants are not appropriately anonymized if they indeed were promised anonymity. According to guidelines for ethnographic research defined by the Council of the American Anthropological Association already in 1971 (see AAA Statement on Ethics), all subjects should be granted absolute anonymity should they so wish [see also the Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity online source (Ethical Review in Finland) and the Swedish National Science Council/Vetenskapsrådet online source (Ethical Guidelines)]. The researchers should do everything in their power to protect the informants' physical, social, and psychological welfare and to honor their dignity, interest, and sensitivities (Spradley 1980, 20–25). In the case of Snellman and Ågren's project that took place between 2000 and 2004, anonymity was a challenge from the beginning. The realization complicated their work all along, and they had to take extra steps to conceal their informants' backgrounds. In the end, there was no ethical problem, because the researchers guaranteed that even the other researcher could not recognize who was interviewed and who the interviewee was.

DATA THROUGH THE EYES OF AN ETHNOLOGIST AND A SOCIOLINGUIST

Our data are based on ethnographic interviews and participant observations collected in Sweden during extensive fieldwork periods between 2001 and 2006. For ethical reasons, the exact locations are not revealed in this article. The interviews with Mothers were conducted in Finnish by Snellman, and the interviews with Daughters by Weckström in Finnish, Swedish, or a mixture of both. For this article, we use interview material from six Daughters and fourteen Mothers. Snellman's interviews were transcribed by a research assistant, and the transcripts and recordings are stored at Oulu Municipal Archive in Finland. Weckström transcribed her interviews, and the digitized audio is stored at the Language Center of the University of California, Berkeley.

In Snellman's (2003) previous research on Finns in Gothenburg, she created a system where the pseudonym of the interviewee also revealed the time of birth of the interviewee. She grouped her interviewees according to the experiences they had shared in their childhood and youth in Finnish Lapland. She called the groups "The Children of the Second World War" (born between 1931 and 1944), "The Children of the Reconstruction Years" (born between 1945 and 1948), and "The Children of the Structural Change" (born between 1949 and 1959). Each person belonging to the same group was given a pseudonym that started with the same letter. Therefore, further in the analysis, one could tell approximately when the person was born. However, the grouping had no other relevance for the analysis of the interviewees' lives in Sweden. That system turned out to be quite practical: the researcher did not have to record how old the people described were, or when they were born because the pseudonym revealed that information. Consequently, with this procedure, pseudonyms are not only fictional names fabricated to conceal the interviewees' identities; they are also an analytical tool.

In this study, Snellman (2003) groups her interviewees according to their shared experiences of immigration. Interviewees belonging to the first group were early pioneers, who had immigrated to Sweden between 1960 and 1965. The interviewees of the second group immigrated to Sweden between 1968 and 1970, during the so-called "gold rush," when, within the time of a few years, tens of thousands of Finns immigrated to Sweden. Those belonging to the third group immigrated to Sweden between 1974 and 1979, when immigration from Finland gradually slowed down. The pseudonyms associated with these three groups start with the letter P (the first group), with the letter H (the second group), and with the letter M (the third group). Therefore, in the following, the name of the person reveals the time of immigration of the person discussed.

All of Weckström's interviewees were in their mid or late twenties at the time of the interviews, and all of them chose their pseudonyms independently. During the interviews, Weckström discussed with the Daughters their chosen names (and names in general). All the Daughters explained that they had chosen a name to reflect trends in naming children around the time they were born and to highlight how they placed themselves in the Swedish context. Some selected Swedish names while others chose typically Finnish names. Yet, everyone commented on the significance and power of a name and naming. Finnish names, such as Katariina and Sanna, were explained to emphasize Finnish identity and the experience of growing up identifying primarily as a Finn in Sweden. Swedish pseudonyms, such as Emma

and Sandra, were explained to give a certain anonymity since the name did not reveal anything non-Swedish about the person. Some names, such as Pia and Maria, are common both in Swedish and Finnish, and Daughters who chose these kinds of names talked about the flexibility of identity when the name can indicate affiliation with both cultures (Weckström 2011; see also Ågren 2006, 52–55).

WHO ARE SWEDEN FINNS?

The term Sweden Finn refers to people who live permanently in Sweden and have some Finnish background. Statistics Sweden defines a Sweden Finn as someone who has at least one Finnish grandparent. According to Statistics Sweden (2016), Sweden has approximately 9.9 million inhabitants, and of the approximately 12 percent (1.1 million) who are immigrants or children of immigrants living in Sweden, more than half come from the neighboring Nordic countries. Even in the light of the ongoing refugee crises in Europe, the group of Finnish immigrants is by far the largest immigrant group if we look at transnational generations, regardless of how the calculations are made. Estimates of the number of people of Finnish descent vary between 200,000 and 721,000 people, depending on how this descent is defined and which criteria are applied. Sweden Finns are no longer necessarily seen as an immigrant group, but rather as a minority. Not only did Sweden Finns achieve the status of one of the five national minorities in 1999, but also the images and representations of Sweden Finns in the media have changed tremendously over the past decades. Markku Huovila, Sweden's beloved Finnish artist, drew a brilliant cartoon (Korkiasaari and Tarkiainen 2000) about the image lift of Finns in Sweden. In his cartoon, Svea mamma, the Swedish matron representing the Swedish crown and state, sits at a table with a crown on her locks, sipping coffee. Two small characters are sitting next to the matron, and one offers commentary on how immigrants either assimilate into Swedish society (in Finnish the word *sulautua* 'melt' is used for this purpose) or sink to the bottom. The second character answers, "[y]es, they have become the sugar at the bottom of Svea Mamma's coffee cup!" (464). In another comic strip, we see two identical scenes: two men sitting on a park bench reading the newspaper. The first scene is set in 1970, the second in 1990. In the 1970s scene, one says, "Guess who robbed the bank?" The other answers: "Well, a Finn, of course." In the 1990s scene, the first man says, "Guess who bought the bank?" The other exclaims, "Well, a Finn, of course!" (435). As implied by these cartoons, the image of Finns in Sweden has evolved from a brute, drunk, and ill-educated factory worker to a much more successful character, a sweet finish of a cup of coffee.

Immigration from Finland to Sweden is closely linked to the post-war decades and especially to the years of colossal labor immigration in the 1960s and at the beginning of the 1970s. The massive migration from Finland to Sweden could be even referred to as an exodus. In those decades, the most extensive migration movement in Finnish history took place: during the post-war era, more than half a million Finns migrated to Sweden (Lainio 1996). Of these half a million migrants, approximately two-thirds returned to Finland either permanently or temporarily; a pendulum migration was common as families moved back and forth between Finland and Sweden. One of the Daughters, Emma, narrates her mother's journey to Sweden:

Yes, so she was there, in S [a town in rural Eastern Finland] working at a garment shop [laughter] and said like, I'm going to move to Helsinki because you earn 500 marks more a month working at Elanto [a department store]. Or something like that, yes, 500 marks and from there she went to Sweden, I believe to Gothenburg first and then to Stockholm, and there she made even more money. No one believed her that it was possible to make so much!³

Thus, Emma's mother was motivated to migrate by higher earnings and possibly some adventure too. The leap from rural Finland to a bustling big city like Gothenburg or Stockholm was huge. As many other immigrants did, she also found work as a cleaner, and later, after she had married and had children, in heavy industry, where she worked until early retirement. Emma's family moved three times across the Baltic Sea, to Finland and back to Sweden, finally settling near Stockholm.

The migration movement between Finland and Sweden is associated with certain power relations. These relations of power between Finland and Sweden are not usually referred to as colonialism, and Finland was never a colony of Sweden in the sense that India was a colony of Britain or Algeria of France; nevertheless, historically speaking, the relationship between the countries shares many characteristics of a colonial master-servant constellation. Finland was, for much of the written history, a part of the Swedish kingdom, and even after independence in 1917, the educated, political, and cultural elite in Finland was Swedish speaking. Savolainen (1982) analyzes the colonial aspects of the connection between Sweden and Finland and argues that colonialism has a negative impact on the self-esteem of

3 All interviews were carried out in Finnish or Swedish, and the excerpts used in this article have been translated into English by Hanna Snellman and Lotta Weckström.

the colonized; this impact is applicable also to Finns in Sweden. Finnish immigrants came to Sweden with a “baggage of servanthood,” unlike, for example, Turkish labor immigrants who arrived in Germany with no such history.

According to Lainio (1996), the absolute peak of migration was reached between 1969 and 1970, when net immigration amounted to 100,000 people; after this, Sweden stopped the active recruitment of foreign workers. The numbers of this peak year might be skewed because the entries and exits were not tracked (see Junila and Westin 2006). As discussed by Ahrne, Roman, and Franzén (2003, 89, 150) and Lainio (2015), from 1975 onwards labor immigration became subject to stricter controls, and Sweden started to follow an integration policy based on cultural pluralism. Immigrants were given the opportunity to keep their ethnic identity or adopt Swedish identity if they wished. They were granted the same rights, duties, and opportunities as those who were born in Sweden. Migration from Finland to Sweden ebbed in the 1980s.

The areas most prone to migration in Finland were rural. People often left agricultural jobs and settled in urban areas by finding employment in factories. Thus, the change was very dramatic for most migrant Finns. Not only did their language and daily social environment change; the geography and infrastructure, physical landscapes, and most often professional profiles changed as well. Low level of education played a crucial role in the lives of those who migrated in the 1960s and 1970s. Before the education reform of 1972, after which everyone in Finland received nine years of education, most Finns had received only the basic four to five years of elementary education. For these people, Sweden often offered what Finland could not: a job.

“FINNISH JOBS”

The focus of this chapter is on the daily life experiences and practices of Finnish immigrant women, our Mothers, and how they came to Sweden and entered the Swedish labor market during the busy migration years. What kinds of jobs did the Mothers find and how did they find these jobs? If they were formally trained, did they find positions where they could put their experiences to use, or did they assume an entirely different role on the labor market? Our data reveal three main areas of employment for Finnish immigrant women in the 1960s and 1970s: live-in domestic help, heavy industry, and cleaning. Both groups, Mothers and Daughters, spoke about these types of jobs as “typical Finnish jobs” in the interviews. When we extend our gaze beyond one generation, and beyond one immediate family, we

can ask whether the Mothers' experiences carried over, informing and shaping the Daughters' choices and experiences in the Swedish labor market. Do these collective experiences—immigration, entering the labor force in a new country, and shaping one's life in a foreign place—carry across generations within a migrant group? In other words, do the experiences of immigrant women influence the vocational choices and experiences on the labor market of the second generation of women?

In the beginning of the extensive migration of the 1960s and 1970s, more men than women migrated to Sweden. However, this gender imbalance was quickly corrected when girlfriends, wives, and families joined the men. It is noteworthy that it was not uncommon for young Finnish girls to migrate alone to Sweden; most minors worked as babysitters helping family members or friends of the family, thus repeating the classical chain migration pattern. Some decisions to migrate were a result of much consideration, but others were taken on a whim. In Snellman's data, a Finnish woman recalls the moment that shaped her life for good, estimating that it took "about two hours" to decide after she was asked to become a live-in domestic help for relatives in Sweden. A babysitter, a live-in maid, or domestic help were indeed the typical first occupations for females (Rahikainen 2007). This occupation enabled girls to immigrate to Sweden at an early age right after their compulsory education, and many of these girls were not older than fifteen. Usually the employers were close relatives, but not always. In many cases, domestic work was a positive occupational choice because it provided a kind of domestic apprenticeship and was an improvement on agricultural work. Usually girls moved to better paying factory jobs as soon as they turned eighteen. Often the employers, at least if they were relatives who had invited the girl from Finland, helped their babysitter to find a job at the factory right after her eighteenth birthday (Rahikainen 2007; Snellman 2003, 116). For Swedish families, a Finnish girl was most likely the second-best alternative, if a Swedish girl was not available. Finnish girls did not necessarily speak Swedish, but many times they had experience working as babysitters in upper- and middle-class families in Finland, and they were familiar with their employers' bourgeois values. Someone coming from Southern Europe was different in many respects, religion being one of them. It is known, for example, that Protestant American housewives were worried about Catholic Irish servants "corrupting their children" (Gabaccia 1994, 48). Todd (2005) points out that, in general, women immigrated at a younger age than men, exactly because it was easy for young girls to get a job as domestic help (123).

The situation was the same as in North America, among Irish women in Boston, Swedish women in Chicago, and Finnish women in Canada (Lindström 2003, 93). In 1920, 87 percent of employed Swedish women living in the United States were servants. Similarly, of all employed Norwegian women in the United States in 1920, 86 percent were servants. For Irish and Slovak female workers, these percentages reflected the same pattern: 81 and 86 percent, respectively. There are some common characteristics among live-in domestic workers regardless of country and time: domestic servants live where they work, they have little control over their own time, they work irregular and often long hours for low cash wages, and their relations with their employers are unpredictable, ranging from harsh, distant, and exploitative to familial and controlling or warmly friendly. Sexual harassment is a typical experience among domestic help (Gabaccia 1994, 47–48).

In 1964, at the beginning of the large-scale migration, 60 percent of the entire Finnish labor force that was visible in statistics in Sweden worked in heavy industry. In 1969, almost two thirds worked in heavy industry. Yet, two decades later, in 1986, the number was down to 41 percent. The number of Finns working in nursing, childcare, and other care professions in Sweden rose lightly between 1964 and 1986, but it never reached the national average of job distribution (Sisuradio May 14, 2013). In the 1960s and 1970s, Finns, like other labor migrants in Sweden, were overrepresented in heavy industry, assisting jobs, cleaning jobs, and hospitality jobs, and underrepresented in administrative and clerical positions. In the 1970s and 1980s, earnings in general were significantly higher in Sweden than in Finland, as the hourly wages of a factory worker could be as much as 90 percent more than back home (Korkiasaari and Tarkiainen 2000, 175). However, this number should be taken with a grain of salt: it speaks volumes about the terrible economy and extremely low wages for unskilled jobs at the time in Finland, not necessarily about sky-high earnings in Sweden as compared with the cost of living. Yet, the gross earnings in unskilled jobs in Sweden were 40 to 50 percent higher than in Finland. Finns who migrated to Sweden often had very little or no insight into Swedish taxation or commodity prices and, for many, reality came as a surprise.

LACK OF LANGUAGE SKILLS AND DOWNWARD MOBILITY

Nancy Foner (1998), an American anthropologist who studied migrant women in New York City, observes that most Dominican and Chinese immigrant women, regardless of their education and training, were drawn to garment-factory work because they did not speak English. Factory work, wherever it was performed,

seldom required the ability to speak, it was quickly learned, and, in the case of her subjects, most garment sweatshops were owned, operated, and managed by compatriots. These jobs were easy to access without English-language skills (7–8). We see the very same dynamic in our data. Many Finns, regardless of education, found work in heavy industry through their fellow compatriots. In many cases, working in a factory did not require language skills of any kind. It was easy to perform these manual jobs well, without exchanging one single sentence during a work shift. There were, of course, exceptions to the rule: Finnish women who were already trained as nurses found employment at hospitals and private clinics. Yet many worked in assisting functions instead of being able to utilize their training from Finland as relatively independent nurses. The lack of skills in Swedish posed a real problem in the healthcare profession, and many skilled and trained women worked jobs they would never have accepted in Finland. For immigrant Finns, language skills could become very important later on, especially if they had ambitions to advance in the hierarchy to become foremen or shift managers, for example. But in the beginning it was most important to earn a living.

In her study on female immigrants in New York City, Foner (1998) shows that a number of Haitian and Hispanic aides in the New York nursing home she studied in the 1980s were professional nurses when they emigrated, but their qualifications were not recognized in the United States, and language problems stood in the way of passing requisite licensing exams to practice nursing in New York. Language problems were a reality for Finnish nurses working in Sweden, too. The only nurse in Snellman's data (we call her Hannele) was recruited to Sweden primarily because she was a trained nurse. At the beginning, she was dressed like a nurse at the hospital but was getting paid for a lower position mainly because of language problems:

And then I arrived in Stockholm. I had a sister already living in Stockholm, she had come a little earlier with her husband, a younger sister, they were working near Stockholm, and then . . . I started, I got a place to stay in Roslagstull, the hospital had arranged a place in a dormitory. But it was difficult, because I noticed immediately, and so did others as well, fellow workers and the director, that I couldn't manage, that is, I could not succeed being a nurse because of language. Then we made an agreement that I will work as an auxiliary nurse until I learn the language. And I remember how difficult it was . . . how difficult it was to be an auxiliary nurse and for all that . . . there was an authoritarian head nurse

who was fond of the Finnish nurse's uniform and she wanted me to wear the uniform even though I did not do nurse's work.

We don't know whether Hannele's experience was typical in Swedish hospitals or not, but recognizing Finnish qualifications in Sweden was by no means automatic. Poor or non-existing competence in Swedish made employment difficult for many professionally trained Finnish women.

Foner points out that many immigrant women, who had professional or white-collar jobs in their home society, experienced downward occupational mobility when they arrived in New York City. Without American-recognized training, English-language proficiency, or work permits, highly qualified women were often consigned, at least temporarily, to relatively low-level positions when they arrived. Many Jamaican private household workers whom she interviewed had been teachers and clerical workers back home, some experiencing the downward transition from "mistress to servant" (Foner 2000, 4). The downward transition was a reality for Finnish women in Sweden as well. Hellevi had been the head of a small post office, but in Sweden she could not dream of white-collar work without further education. Heta had been a hairdresser entrepreneur in Finland, but in Sweden she sought work at a factory. She first tried to work as a hairdresser, but that turned out to be impossible because she could not speak Swedish even though she had lived in Sweden several years as a child. However, she, too, preferred to be a cleaning woman instead of being a factory worker:

In the evenings I worked at a potato factory. . . . I threw up and sat there. We were sitting there like chickens and the potatoes smelled so bad. I picked the bad ones out and threw up. It was strange for me because earlier I had worked in business. I divorced my second husband after five years and started looking for a part-time job and found one in a record factory pressing records, but because I am no person to stand by machines doing one gesture, I resigned and started working in cleaning.

CLEANING AS AN "IMMIGRANT JOB"

In Snellman's data, Marja was the only interviewee of the fourteen Mothers with a high school diploma. She also had a diploma from a Finnish commercial college. However, she started her working life in Sweden as a cleaning woman. At first she had not even looked for work where she could use her education because of language problems. She also felt that pay was good in manual labor. She was not a cleaning

woman for long because she got a job at the factory. Soon, Marja started work at the office of the Finnish Association of her home community, and got that job because of her commercial education and Finnish background. Later, when she moved to another town, she found employment at a metal factory. After she had children, the most convenient way to earn a living for her was to care for other people's children. "Cleaning has always been the work of immigrants, you don't have to talk when you clean," stated one of Snellman's interviewees, Pirjo. She hits the nail on the head. For example, Portuguese immigrants in Canada from the same era found work as housekeeping staff in hospitals and as cleaners in factories and in other cleaning jobs (Brettell 1982, xv). In Sweden, cleaning was usually the first job for Finnish women over eighteen years of age. Mothers of young children could work in the evenings and at nights and take care of children, their own and maybe others', too, during the daytime. They could take on more cleaning tasks as their children grew older. How much this arrangement was a burden to older children, especially daughters in the family, is not known (see Todd 2005, 79). Pirjo's daughters were responsible for taking care of their younger brother:

When I was working in the shop, I worked six days a week, and Sunday was for laundry and preparing meals for the following week. I put the meals in the fridge, so the children could just warm them up. . . . I wrote a list saying who does what each day. It was always there on the countertop. And when I came home in the evening, the first thing I did was to sit in the kitchen and listen to who had been mean to whom, who had done what, who had hit whom. . . . My son was in kindergarten, but he did not want to be there. I had to pull him out, my eldest daughter always . . . daughters were taking turns in taking care of him.

Hilkka, Heidi, and Päivi all worked as cleaning women when their children were young. In the evenings, the father could be with the children, and according to the Mothers, it was also easy to get help from Finnish neighbors. Pirkko chose to work as a cleaning woman until her daughter was ten years old:

First, when I came here, because I was totally without the knowledge of Swedish, I just had [to] . . . and because my husband was working and we had a child—that is to say—I had already a son, and then we had a daughter together—we had a child and he went to work during the days, and when he came home in the evening, I went cleaning. After we moved here, I finished working in town and got a job here, cleaning schools.

I was cleaning schools, there were several small schools here, but not anymore. . . . I was cleaning, and then I also took care of the elderly as a home help. I did it until my daughter was ten years.

Paula's first job was in a textile factory, but when her children were small she, too, chose to work as a cleaning woman for practical reasons:

I did some cleaning work. My husband was working in two shifts, so I went cleaning when he was at home. I went cleaning in the morning before the workers came. You were not allowed to do the job when the office employees were there. And the same in the evening, when he came home, I went to work. Because of the children, so actually they didn't have to go . . . at that time there was no day-care for children, if you did not have some friend or something. Grandmothers and grandfathers were all in Finland, so it was . . . you had to arrange it somehow. When I had to do the laundry, I had to do it in the daytime, so he had to come home from work to be with children. You couldn't otherwise.

When Martta moved to Sweden in 1979, she started working three shifts as a fork-lift driver even though she was a single parent with four children. The pay was good and compensated for the dirty working conditions. Pirjo started as a cleaning woman, but after she was widowed, working in the evenings was not possible, and she found work in the kitchen of a restaurant. Still stressed by her lack of ability to speak and understand Swedish, she was fortunate to find employment with the Finnish Association.

Whereas Daughters never dismissed their mothers' professional paths or compared them to their own choices, they often used terms such as "unfair" and "hard" when they spoke about their mothers' career options and paths. Some remarked that their mothers could have done many other things had they been in the Finnish context, spoken Swedish, and found more support in their surroundings. In general, however, daughters applauded their mothers' generation for its "bravery and the hard work" the mothers had done in Sweden. Daughters' accounts of their mothers' careers in Sweden echoed Snellman's Mothers' narrations: most mothers had found employment within cleaning or factory work. Pia, Katarina, and Niina who were interviewed in a group setting, talked about "immigrant jobs" their mothers had. Pia's mother had worked at a laundry ever since the family had arrived in Sweden more than three decades before. Pia commented, with a lot of laughter, "It looks like all older Finnish people are working in the laundry or cleaning [. . .] especially those

who don't speak Swedish so well." Many Daughters mentioned Finnish acquaintances who had started their own cleaning companies and were successful in the business. Niina, however, saw no glory or success in cleaning jobs: "When they (Finns) moved here in the sixties, they were just given all the shit jobs the Swedes didn't want to do. Then they started cleaning companies and such, it isn't really a status thing at all."

SPEAKING FINNISH AT WORK: BONUS OR BURDEN?

As we mentioned earlier in this article, non-existent or poor Swedish-language skills had a strong impact on the professional lives of immigrant women. Most could not even dream of having their Finnish white-collar lives after migrating to Sweden. For most immigrant Finns, Finnish remained the primary language of their private life but also the language of work connections. Since Finnish social networks were tight, it was possible in certain areas of Sweden to get by almost exclusively in Finnish (see also Jaakkola 1989). One of the Daughters, Sandra, talked about the first-generation Finnish immigrants that she encountered through her work as a laboratory technician taking samples sometimes at hospital bedsides. She spoke about older patients who would not say a word until they noticed her nametag (she has a recognizably Finnish name) and then let a sigh of relief and started to talk. Sandra said that she sometimes sees the patient's name at the end of the bed before she even addresses them, and if she starts the conversation in Finnish, the elderly patient is at ease and "almost like a different person." Her experiences confirm the low level of Swedish-language skills some immigrant Finns still have after thirty or forty years in Sweden. The combination of manual labor in loud factory environments and strong, Finnish-speaking social networks might indeed have enabled a completely Finnish-speaking life until old age. Katariina and Pia mentioned that they still help their parents with official paperwork and go with them to doctors' appointments, insurance companies, and banks. Thus, our data highlight the concept that new immigrants arrived into already existing, strong Finnish networks through which they found jobs and meaningful social connections. Our two data sets, Mothers and Daughters, reiterate how minimal any spoken contact with Swedish-language speakers could be even over the course of a lifetime. Most immigrant Finns learned Swedish well over the years, but every single Daughter commented on their mother's Swedish skills. The skills were described as "perfect" or "really good," yet their accents were characterized as "very Finnish" and "giving away" that they were Finns. To sound as a Finn has not always been something people would necessarily find as a bonus; it was rather a burden. Here we come back to the negative images associated with Finnish immigrants (Weckström 2011; Ågren

2006). Many women in our data, both Mothers and Daughters, had at some point in their lives chosen silence over being associated with being Finnish. Since there are no striking differences in the appearance between Finns and Swedes, silence offered a sort of cover from negative labeling.

Both sets of data, Snellman's interviews with Mothers and Weckström's interviews with Daughters, suggest that Finnish immigrants and their descendants often use the Finnish language only in a domestic setting. All of the Daughters were competent bilinguals, but only a few had experienced their language skills in Finnish as useful in a professional setting. Sandra's hospital example illustrates a situation where Finnish clearly made a difference to everyone involved: the patient was more relaxed and could communicate, and Sandra could take care of her tasks more easily. Yet she had never received a bonus for an extra working language.

Daughters had not chosen their careers with Finnish-language skills on their minds; on the contrary, they claimed that they had never—or rarely in a professional sense—had any use for Finnish. Yet, all of them mentioned having had some small jobs, for example, while they were studying, for which the knowledge of Finnish was an advantage. Such jobs were often related to health or customer care, gastronomy, or working in a team of Finnish-speaking cleaners. According to the Daughters, some employers view additional languages as a bonus, but Finnish had never been considered as “useful.” Sometimes knowledge of Finnish had caused negative reactions in a professional setting for both Mothers and Daughters. Katariina talked about an event that took place at her job at a gas station and the conflicting ways her use of Finnish was reacted to. Her employer claimed that customers had complained about the fact that she spoke Finnish at work with Finnish-speaking customers. Her employer explained that it “bothers other customers and is impolite because others won't understand what was said.” Katariina was angry and hurt but continued using Finnish with Finnish-speaking customers although she “made sure to whisper if the employer was around.” The employer's attitude changed suddenly when an annual truck cruise was held in the town and his gas station could provide service to Finnish-speaking truck drivers as well. Suddenly Katariina's language skills were highly appreciated, and she recalls the cruise weekend as a turning point after which she spoke Finnish whenever she wanted to and as loudly as she pleased.

WHAT ABOUT EDUCATION?

The general picture in Sweden and in the whole of Europe is that the second generation—that is, the children of immigrants—fare better than their parents, but that

they experience disadvantages compared to their majority peers (Heath, Rethon, and Kilpi 2008, see also OECD 2012). According to Statistics Sweden, second-generation immigrant Finns have a significantly higher education than their parents (Sisuradio May 14, 2013). Yet, compared to their Swedish peers of the same age group, the education level of people with a Finnish background is lower. Most young people with a Finnish background have completed high school and opt for vocational training, but few continue to college. The reasons for this discrepancy are manifold, and the level of the parents' education is often cited as the main factor explaining this gap. Here the apples do not seem to fall far from the tree.

The majority of Sweden Finns older than sixty-five have indeed no more than nine years of basic education (Sisuradio May 14, 2013). As we have established already, the majority of Finns came to Sweden to perform manual, often heavy, physical labor in factories, to press laundry, to clean factory floors, hotels, and office buildings, or to work as domestic helpers for family and friends (Snellman 2003). To perform most of these jobs, no language skills were necessary; one could literally put the gloves on and get to work. Our Mothers and Daughters confirm the statistics about education: all Daughters had two Finnish parents who had migrated to Sweden in the 1970s, and all but one had mothers with nine years or less of basic education from Finland. Their mothers, with one exception, did not speak any Swedish when they arrived. All Daughters had a high school diploma and some vocational degree, or studies in an institution of higher education. Maria, Katariina, and Pia each had from two to three years of vocational training. At the time of the interviews, Maria was a social worker while Katariina and Pia worked in retail. All three women described their jobs as satisfying and expressed happiness about their present careers and vocational choices. Sandra, Emma, and Sanna had college degrees. Sandra worked in her "dream job" in healthcare. At the time of our first interview, Emma had just started to work in retail after working at a chocolate factory for a while. At the time of the second interview in 2006, she was studying at a university (she graduated in 2010 and works abroad in a profession she trained for). At the time of our first interview in 2004, Sanna was a college student. When we met again in 2006 for the second time, she worked in a media profession that her degree had prepared her for.

The level of education varied within Snellman's Mothers group and Weckström's Daughters group. Some women had a college or a professional degree, some entered the labor market after some vocational training, and others had just a basic education. The striking difference between the groups was the degree to which the

women had found careers matching their level of education. None of Snellman's Mothers with higher education degrees or professional degrees, such as that of a nurse, found work in Sweden that would have corresponded with their education, experience, and skills right after immigration. Many Mothers took language courses and completed advanced degrees over the years and worked in professions they were trained for and wanted to be in. Others did not succeed in their efforts to climb the ladder to a better position, and yet others stayed at their conveyor belt or cleaning jobs until retirement. The Daughters, on the contrary, reported no such problems. According to the interviews, all of them were, professionally speaking, exactly where they wanted to be. Many of Snellman's Mothers talked about their children and their careers, expressing pride and happiness for their daughters' jobs in manual labor. They talked about their children's ability to be financially independent, own a home, and raise a family. None of these things can be taken for granted by anyone who makes the leap and starts over in a new country.

WHERE DO APPLES FALL AND WHAT HAPPENS TO THE TREES?

To revisit the proverb we evoked in the beginning of this article and in the title, does the apple fall far from the tree or close to it? In what respect might Daughters be like Mothers in their professional choices and experiences? Our data suggest that there are apples that fall very close to the mother tree and others that roll far away. Given the small scale of our data, we can neither confirm nor dispute the pattern that a low level of education, when compared with Swedish peers, would necessarily be passed along to the next generation in the context of Finnish immigrants in Sweden. Our data reveal different kinds of career paths ranging from vocational training to university degrees. What our data do show is that certain kinds of painful experiences, traceable back to the Finnish background and occurring in a professional setting, are repeated generation after generation. Both Mothers and Daughters talked about ridicule—even threats—because they spoke Finnish in a professional setting. Both groups mentioned whispering in Finnish in order not to cause trouble or to be singled out at work. Low-level professions, such as cleaning and factory work, were associated with being a Finnish woman of any generation in Sweden. However, as much as our study reveals painful experiences, it also speaks with a clear and loud voice of professional pride, satisfaction, and happiness. Both Mothers and Daughters were content and proud in their choices, and the Mothers spoke with great pride about their children's careers.

Our research did not consist of “real” mothers and daughters, but examined the hypothesis that, in the scope of generations (as opposed to individual families), daughters would follow their mothers’ footsteps in their career choices. Based on our analysis, it appears that the micro-level unit of a family with its internal dynamics in the case of Finnish immigrant women and their daughters’ generation is reflected in the larger scale of a generation and social class. The generation of immigrant Mothers with low education and jobs in the service industry or factory work is followed by a generation of Daughters with much more heterogeneous careers but the same shared experiences based on Finnish background. Finns in Sweden have not made the upward class trip (*klassresan*); indeed, it appears that the social class of being blue-collar has not changed. This, however, does not translate to disappointment in the light of our data; all Daughters expressed happiness about their career choices. They have, unlike most of the women of their mothers’ generation, been able to pursue careers of their skills, preferences, and ambitions.

As mentioned earlier, statistics show that transnational generations of Finnish immigrants in Sweden are, on an average, better educated than their parents. This is not surprising, given the nature of labor immigration to Sweden. The education system in the 1950s and 1960s, when the first generation was going to school in Finland, was very different compared to the 1980s, when their children went to school in Sweden. The world around us is constantly changing, and statistics about the third-generation Finns in Sweden have not been compiled yet. The third generation is still so young, not even of high-school age, so that we will have to be patient and wait to see where the apples roll. Lainio (2015) argues that “the (stereo)typical Finnish migrant, the industrial worker with only compulsory schooling and a rural background, largely vanished in the 1980s, but the image remains” (118).

How about the trees? The mother trees set roots in a new soil; they learned to nourish themselves from new and often very different sources of energy from those their home grounds nourished them with before. They produce a slightly different kind of fruit in the new country, and to do so they change in subtle ways. We find the agricultural metaphor of grafting highly appropriate when discussing migrants and their transnational generation. The metaphor allows us to look at migrants’ lives as they settle in a new context, keeping something of the old and adding elements offered by the new country. Grafting means adding, amending, and creating something novel, potentially something never seen before. We as researchers made an experiment and worked on a mixed data set. We did this, on the one hand, out of pure curiosity to explore the possible effects of migration across generations, and on

the other, to protect our interviewees. The outcome is that this is an interesting and ethically sound way to do research and a successful experiment as it allows a broader and deeper discussion of topics in migrants' lives when data span across generations.

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CHILDREN'S DEPICTIONS OF THE HOME IN POST-WAR NORTHERN FINLAND AND SWEDEN

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ABSTRACT

This article¹ investigates the physical and mental landscapes of childhood after the Second World War in two regions, northern Sweden and northern Finland. The material analyzed consists of entries submitted to art and essay contests for schools in each country. The aim of the Finnish contest was to increase aid during reconstruction and to mentally unite the nation. The Swedish contest, organized by a local heritage association, sought to foster regionalism and strengthen people's feeling of belonging to a nation-state.

The analysis draws on perspectives from visual culture studies, humanistic geography, and an individual's interpretation of place. The article illustrates the intertextual connections between the contest submissions and material such as school posters.

The students' paintings and drawings both reconstruct and comment on what was an imposed cultural agenda. Their entries reflect the national mental landscape as well as the local school aesthetics, ethics, and norms that prevailed at the time.

Keywords: Second World War, local history and geography education, history of art education, national imaginary, reconstruction, nationalism

1 This article is a modified version of Granö, Päivi, and Anniina Koivurova, 2013. "Koululaiset kotiseudun representoijina toisen maailmansodan jälkeen Suomen Länsi-Lapissa ja Ruotsin Tornionlaaksossa" [Students as representers of their home districts after the Second World War in Western Finnish Lapland and the Torne River Valley of Sweden]. *Kasvatus & Aika* 7 (4). Kasvatuksen historiallis-yhteiskunnallinen julkaisu, 6–26. http://www.kasvatus-ja-aika.fi/dokumentit/grano_ja_koivurova_1112131040.pdf. The language of the present article has been checked by Richard Foley.

INTRODUCTION

This article examines schoolchildren's conceptions and depictions of their homes and home districts in western Finnish Lapland and the Swedish Torne River Valley in the 1940s and 1950s. Our study analyzes the submissions to two art and essay contests, one held in each country. The purpose is to investigate what elements of the children's home districts and, more broadly, their culture the entries reflect; how the children depict their environment; and how the submissions serve to provide a representation of the home and home district. We study how the depictions construct the personal, local, and national identities of the time. The results show the way in which students in both countries—in the spirit of local studies (geography and history) as taught at the time—took part in building national unity after the Second World War. Despite this national focus, the border between the two countries figures prominently in the children's artwork.

CHILDREN'S PERCEPTIONS OF A NORTH TORN BY WAR

Despite the demarcation of the border between Finland and Sweden in 1809, when Sweden lost Finland to Russia, western Finnish Lapland and the Torne Valley in northern Sweden formed a rather uniform cultural area for a long time. Gradually, however, policies geared toward unification and modernization of the respective nation-states led to an economic and linguistic parting of the neighbors (Elenius 2006, 290; 2009). The traditional languages spoken in the region were Swedish, Finnish, Torne Valley Finnish (*Meänkieli*), and a number of Sámi languages (Elenius 2006, 34–38). During the nineteenth-century national romantic tendencies, the interest in and appreciation of Lapland increased, especially among painters and photographers. Illustrated travel books also became popular. Moreover, for the Finns, it was important to establish their country as an area on the map and to teach the people to identify and to respect their fatherland (Hautala-Hirvioja 2011). At the same time, the attitude of the Swedish authorities in the Torne Valley towards multilingualism and national minorities turned negative. The policy of assimilation prescribed that languages other than Swedish were not to be spoken at school, a practice that continued until the late 1950s (Elenius 2006, 151; Vaattovaara 2009, 97–99).

During the Second World War, Finland was at war with the Soviet Union (1939–40, 1941–44). German troops were stationed in northern Finland from 1941 until 1944. At the end of the Second World War, the peace agreement with the Soviet Union dictated that the German troops had to leave Finland, and thus Finnish

Lapland became the final scene of the Continuation War. In the so-called Lapland War (1944–45), Finnish troops fought their former German allies. In the autumn of 1944, retreating German troops destroyed the province of Lapland virtually in its entirety, and over half of Lapland's civilian population was evacuated to northern Sweden. The evacuation journeys were hardest on the children. In 1944–45, the infant mortality rate was twice as high as in 1943 (Junila 2005, 134–35, appendix 5; Lähteenmäki 1999; Ursin 1980; Tuominen 2005).

Under the circumstances, the border between Finland and Sweden began to loom larger both materially and mentally. Despite the fact that Finnish and Swedish children lived in close proximity to one another, the border between Finland and Sweden marked vast distances between children's experiences of family, home, home district, and country. The Swedish children's experiences centered on economic development, whereas their Finnish counterparts brought out their fathers' absences, the threats posed by the occupying Germans, fear of the Soviets, the hardships of evacuation, and their return to a Lapland that had been physically destroyed (Tuominen 2005, 151–55). After the war, the children in the northernmost provinces of both countries were given the task of actively joining the effort to tackle the changed but different situations and build a better future.

The Finnish contest submissions used as data for the article were produced in Finnish Lapland in 1947; the Swedish entries were submitted in Norrbotten, Sweden, in the period 1951 to 1953. The reasons given for eliciting the artwork and essays were ideologically different, even though the pedagogical background in both cases had many features in common. In both countries, the contests served to teach children national values and to help them to focus their attention to given topics of society and the environment. Both contests were based on a set of themes accompanied by written prompts and produced within the school system under the direction of school teachers. The Finnish contest, nationwide in scope, invited submissions from all folk and grammar schools in the spirit of reconstruction. The Swedish material was produced in the spirit of education to instill pride in students' local heritage. In the case of both countries, the contest entries depict children's experiences of their lives and their closest family and friends, as well as their home, its yard, and the surrounding landscape.

The context of producing the drawings was formal; children produced the submissions during class-time. The fact that children knew the viewer and her/his position as a teacher might have influenced their idea of what a proper picture should be like. The images provide information that enable viewers to reflect and explore the

meanings and values of the school curriculum and surrounding culture in general.

In the Swedish contest, the schoolchildren were asked to write about and illustrate themes such as “My home” and “The history of my school or village.” Eleven-year-old Tyra’s entry includes a text and two paintings. She tells about the day and exact hour when the war broke out in the autumn of 1944. Tyra lived in a little village by the Torne River, which runs along the border between Sweden and Finland.

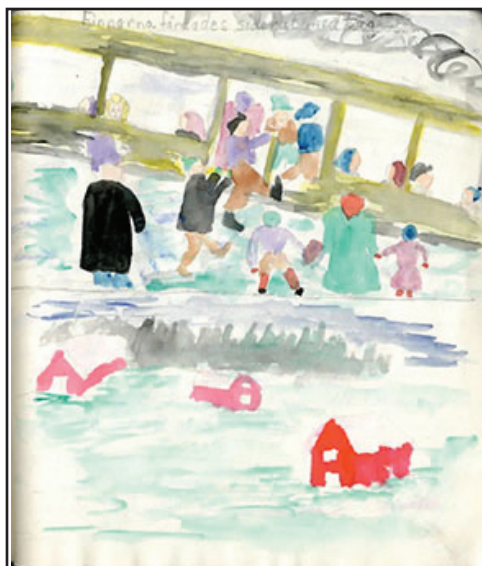


Figure 1a.



Figure 1b.

In one of the pictures (figure 1a), Finnish evacuees, mostly women and children, are being hurriedly transported by train to Sweden under chaotic circumstances. The other picture (figure 1b) shows German troops burning down a village in Finland, just across the river. These images, made by a child, embody the story of the war, as told to children in Sweden in the newspapers, at home, and in school. It was a story that strongly reflected the mental and physical position of the Swedes—that of spectator and helper. There is a mental and physical distance. Tyra describes both the natural frontier (a river) and the mental and political boundary that had been created between Finland and Sweden. The drawings by Tyra constitute an exception in the body of material collected from Swedish children. It is remarkable that most Swedish children do not picture war or the signs of it even though first German troops and later American military aircraft were transported through their area, and they clearly witnessed battles across the river (Gyllenhaal 2011; Gyllenhaal and Gebhardt 1999). These were presumably suppressed topics in schools and homes.

The contest entries provide an opportunity to compare national- and local-level educational goals at a time when Europe was splitting into two blocs. Children in Finland were mobilized to produce a description of the post-war reconstruction. The connections between the Swedish material and education, geared to producing a unified Swedishness, are obvious. Both the Finnish and the Swedish material create a link to the pre-war time, which proved to be a rich source of teaching methods as well as national symbols. The images and texts that the children produced can thus be seen as examples of tapping history in order to build the future.

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

In interpreting the images and texts, we apply perspectives drawn from research on place in visual culture and humanist geography. The children's pictures were created in a particular visual culture and place. Like all images, they embody a cultural perspective and thus have intertextual layers. Place is understood here not only as a physical location but as a mental construct in which an individual is in a meaningful relation to the world. Eliciting texts and drawings and asking children to do tasks relating to their home districts reflects how place takes shape as a process and how it is produced consciously (Bal 2001, 48, 68; de Certeau 1984; Häyrynen 2005, 25–27; Freedman 1997; Rose 2008, 59–73; Sörlin 1988, 2006, 2011; Tuan 1977). From a socio-cultural perspective, we study how personal experiences and memories intertwine with cultural values and conceptions to construct an understanding of place.

The method draws on cultural visual analysis, which often employs content analysis of images (Bal 2001; Freedman 1997; Rose 2008). Therefore, children's pictures are also seen as a form of "text" and they can "be read" (Weber and Mitchell 1996). Cultural visual analysis uses the concept of an image to refer to an idea or a mental representation. Such analyses can be described as holistic readings, which include cycles of interpretation (Orland-Barak and Maskit 2013).

The drawings have been analyzed using content analysis, which provides tools for interpreting cultural meanings. The drawings are multimodal as they make sense in relation to other things, including written text and other images. The social conditions affect the visual objects as well: the images relate to other things, such as the aesthetic and moral values of the time in question. But the drawings also reflect the lived experiences of the children. Taken as whole, the images produce the relation of "togetherness" (Rose 2008, 59–73).

As interpreters of our research material, we are aware of the contexts in which we live as teachers, middle-aged Scandinavian women, and specialists in the field of

visual educational studies. Even though we may not be able to read certain special signs, details, emotions, or moods represented in the children's texts and drawings, we are part of the same cultural context and represent the generation following that of the producers of the study material.

TOOLS OF RECONSTRUCTION AND LOCAL HERITAGE EDUCATION

The Finnish material was created in 1947, when northern Finland was recovering from the Lapland War. Most of the evacuees had returned home by the autumn of 1945, and they had to start a new life from scratch. The structure of the old communities had been shattered, and many people had lost family members and their homes. Everyone, including children, took part in reconstructing the burnt villages, and this gave communities a sense of security and belief in the future (see Lähteenmäki 1999, 212). A crucial actor in the material and mental recovery process was Suomen Huolto (Finnish relief), a national organization founded in 1939. It brought together the principal voluntary aid organizations that worked to repair the damage caused by the war and to help the neediest in particular: invalids and widows with many children. A significant part of the organization's work consisted of fundraising efforts, coordinated by a body known as Kansanapu (People's aid). Kansanapu operated for eight years under the patronage of the president of Finland (*Kansalta kansan hyväksi* 1952, 2–8).



Figure 2.

The national contest in Finland was part of Kansanapu's 1947 campaign (*Kansalta kansan hyväksi* 1952, 8). In one submission, shown in figure 2, a fifteen-year-old schoolgirl depicts a mother and eight children who have received an aid package (figure 2). In the lower left-hand corner of the picture, one can see a logo—the flowering heart of Kansanapu. The joy in the modest log hut is tangible. The smallest child is in the cradle, with the elder sister showing her new dress to the baby. The shortage of shoes at the time was acute (Hustich 1946, 204; Jackson Groves 1989, 47, 83), so such gifts were very much needed. Anna-Liisa, who made the drawing, was from the town of Rovaniemi, which was almost entirely demolished as a result of German troops' scorched-earth tactics (Kulju 2014, 25, 63; see also Tuominen 2005, 151–52). As she was already fifteen years old, Anna-Liisa probably understood that the purpose of the drawing contest was to appeal to the presumed viewer, the helper.

The point to be made by the Kansanapu art and essay contest—that there were citizens working for the common good—pervaded the entire Finnish school system. It appealed to teachers as well, driving home how important it was to instill in the next generation a humane spirit of mutual assistance and love for one's neighbor (JyMAa). The classes in folk and grammar schools were given tasks that had a distinct Christian and patriotic tone. Children in the lower folk school were given topics such as “We help the old woman next door clean,” “In a Lappish tent village,” “A Karelian immigrant's new house,” and “An ill war orphan.” Grammar school students were guided to tell about some well-known national story, their studies, sports, or social aid, or they were prompted to design a poster promoting Kansanapu that included a slogan and an image symbolizing the organization's work. In the case of both the folk and the grammar school categories, it was suggested that the tasks should be closely linked to curricular content, such as form and perspective drawing (JyMAa).

The best entries by school and province (almost 500 pictures, archived in the Jyväskylä provincial archives) were sent to the head office of Kansanapu in Helsinki. A distinguished board chose the prize-winning works as well as works for honorable mention from each category by province (JyMAa; JyMAb).

In 1951, a few years after the Finnish contest, an art and essay contest on the topic of local heritage was announced in Sweden. Intended for schools in the Torne Valley, the contest was called *Bygdespegeln* (lit. “regional mirror”) and consisted of a number of stages with themes relating to the region's daily life, landscapes, and history. The stages of the contest took place between 1951 and 1953. The contest

was organized by Samfundet för hembygsvård (Association for local heritage) and the regional newspaper, and it was supported by Christian revival movements, the workers' movement, and the temperance movement. The notice launching the contest encouraged students to explore the spiritual and material heritage of their home districts, to seek guidance from their teachers, and to make efforts to get their parents involved. Teachers were offered an approach to assist them in the endeavor: modern group work. The organizers of the contest justified its importance in terms of the cultural values of the region, which were threatened at the time by out-migration to the south and to the cities (NBM, F1: 35).

After the war, there were several national issues to be dealt with, and the concept of local heritage proved useful indeed for the purpose. The border region and the northern periphery attracted heightened interest, particularly because relations between the great powers had changed dramatically at the end of the 1940s. Norway had joined NATO, and Finland had signed the Agreement of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance (the YYA Treaty) with the Soviet Union (Elenius 2009, 31; Enbuske 2009, 88; Sörlin 1988, 258). Moreover, structural changes in the economy had set the stage for the disappearance of farming and the loss of knowledge related to it. All in all, the period was crucial for the formation of a national identity (Sörlin 1988, 258).

The close connection between the nation-state and the agrarian tradition was unique to the Nordic countries. Civil organizations co-operated with government agencies to educate the people to embrace democracy (Gustafsson 2011), an orientation clearly reflected in the organizations' support for the art and essay contest.

Thirty-two schools took part in the Swedish contest. The interest in participation varied from school to school and region to region; the most enthusiastic schools were the small schools in the Torne Valley. The material comprises over thirty folders (archived in the Norrbotten museum), each of which has between four and eight booklets made by a group of students. For the most part, the materials are the work of ten- to thirteen-year-old students. The task for an individual student was to write several pages on a given topic, with the text then generally accompanied by explanatory illustrations.

PEDAGOGICAL POINTS OF DEPARTURE

The local heritage movement and the educational system found each other when, in 1919, Sweden made the teaching of local heritage one of the tasks of the schools; in Finland, this had occurred somewhat earlier. The impetus for this development can be traced to a far older pedagogical idea, however. The notion of constructing

the learning process to progress from a student's immediate sphere of experience toward less familiar contexts, as well as an emphasis on the student's own observation and experience, can be found in the thinking of Comenius, Pestalozzi, and, later, Dewey. The Swedish school system adopted an approach that drew on perception theory and the German-based *Heimatkunde*, emphasized the active involvement of the child, and underscored a focus on wholes rather than parts. In keeping with the German influence, the student's immediate locality took on great significance (Björkroth 2007, 19–21; Jacobsson 1999, chapter 1; Hilli-Tammilehto and Tani 1999, 69–70; Nordblad 2009, 92). Nordblad has shown in her research how the pedagogy underpinning visual observation lessons created “proper Swedes” in the Torne Valley in the 1920s and 1930s, as mandated by the nationalistic spirit of the time. It was a time when object lessons, local studies—primarily geography and history—and the construction of a national identity all joined hands on the ontological level, as it were (Nordblad 2009, 79–104). In the early 1950s, *Bygdespeglén* pursued a corresponding aim using precisely the same pedagogical methods and teaching content.

Geography and history, taught as part of local studies, were perfect subjects for training students to make observations, to teach them language and concepts, and, ultimately, to instill in them a bond to their home district and native country. Teaching local heritage became a mission for the entire national school system, and this subject was made part of the curriculum for the early grades, where it would guide children from the world of the home into life in society at large. Local studies in Finland had a stronger focus on information than its Swedish counterpart and had a more independent status in the curriculum (Björkroth 2007, 19–21; Hilli-Tammilehto and Tani 1999, 69–71; Walår 1952, 14–15).

There was a strong link between the teaching of drawing and local studies. In both Sweden and Finland, drawing had been an aspect of handicraft and training for the practical trades and, like local studies, had functioned as an auxiliary subject that provided links between others. Drawing and local studies were one and the same subject in the first years of school, and the two were linked by a similar pedagogical orientation: the object lesson and a Deweyan emphasis on meaningful activity.

In both countries, a debate on the teaching of drawing and, to some extent, on the school system at large had begun even before the Second World War. This debate was fueled not only by the change society was undergoing at the time but also by changing views of the child in the field of psychology. In an influential

development, the aesthetic movement emphasizing the significance of art had made itself felt throughout the Nordic countries. The work of the reformist educator Ellen Key (1849–1926) in particular played a key role in highlighting aesthetics and the moral values associated with it. Children had to learn to appreciate beauty not only in their homes but in their natural surroundings as well (Pettersson and Åsén 1989, 75–96). Attaching drawing (later, art, *bild*) to the world of art—in particular the fact that expressive art now fit into the new thinking on creativity—also changed the aims of the subject. In Finland, the discussion of the “modern” teaching of drawing and the plans to change the school system ended abruptly with the outbreak of the war (Pohjakallio 2005, 60; Pettersson and Åsén 1989, 75–96; see also Stylus 1933; 1946). During the war, drawing was linked to patriotic aims; after the war, the broader educational value of the subject became more prominent. Art teachers were encouraged to educate a new, better generation (Stylus 1945). In Sweden, the 1940s and 1950s saw a lively discussion of the principles of teaching drawing, with education through art established as a central aim. Teaching was to favor free and individual expression that would support the development of students’ character (Pettersson and Åsén 1989, 75–96).

Although the board judging the Kansanapu contest in Finland had members who supported the winds of change, the works submitted showed that tradition still had a firm grip on the schools. Most of the drawings submitted to the contest used the entire image space. Attention was given to composition and colors, and the contestants sought to achieve expression that was as realistic as possible. In both countries, the tasks were defined in detail, but in Sweden most of the schoolchildren were allowed freer expression.

THE NORTHERN HOME, YARD, AND FAMILY

In many locations in Finnish Lapland, the war destroyed the traditional cultural landscape; the distinctive red and yellow log houses were gone. People rebuilt their homes themselves, using standardized designs for what was known as “a veteran’s house”; they continued a tried and true tradition of building houses of wood while, at the same time, introducing new construction techniques, establishing new communities, and creating new living routines (Pihkala 2004, 16). The pictures children produced show how intimately their lives were linked to this process. In some pictures, the siding is drawn with such precision that it could be straight from the housing plans on file with the Lapland Building District (see Soikkeli 2004, 23–26).

An eleven-year-old elementary-school student from Rovaniemi, Vuokko Liukko, drew the house of a Karelian evacuee, with a yard that has tree stumps in the middle (figure 3). Perhaps the trees that have been cut down have been sent down the river to be sawn into lumber for building the house. Instead of having a solid foundation, the house is built on concrete pillars—a sign of the shortage of materials at the time. The shingled roof is typical of the period. The door of the simple house seems to have been painted with the traditional red ochre paint, and the house is still missing a porch. Modern conveniences are lacking; instead, the modest, subsistence household has one cow, a sheep, a lamb, and a cat. The state regulated and supported the acquisition of farm animals. Indigent families and families with many children received state assistance to help them purchase goods in order to ensure them a basic living (Ursin 1980, 348).



Figure 3.

The picture shows a girl playing with and feeding a ewe. Her little brother is pulling a little wagon, the letters on which—UNNRA [sic] (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration)—refer to the assistance received from abroad (see Ursin 1980, 268–77). The toddler in the mother's arms is reaching out and trying to touch the cow's nose. The father is hoeing what will be the family garden, which has a pile of rocks beside it. Vuokko's picture represents one kind of family

idyll: the father doing strenuous work, the mother a caregiver, and the children playing. The work was divided between women and men (Blom 2001, 320–22), but the absence or disability of men increased the workload of women. Vuokko's image fits in with the gender normative tales of heroism that were used to build an idealized image of a people determined to survive (see, for example, nationalistic stories of self-denying female teachers, Hustich 1946). This was very much the ethos that the Kansanapu drawing contest sought to encourage.

The second stage of the Swedish contest, based on the theme “at home with Father and Mother,” understandably inspired many descriptions of the landscape as seen from the home. The children described their homes, the outbuildings, the care of farm animals, and the work in the fields. The pictures and texts together, as a whole, produce a unified narrative of progress (see Rose 2008; Weber and Mitchell 1996). They show the first cars and trains; they show the installation of electricity; and they depict telephone poles going up. Even the schedules for the buses that stopped in the village feature prominently in their work. Building a home and other new buildings to provide a better space for the whole family and the animals are recurrent themes (NBM F1). The Swedish children lived in what was called “the people's home” (*Folkhem*), an element of an overarching ideology that combined nationalism and democracy. In the 1950s, the focus of a welfare society was on a belief in the future and in economic and technological growth. “The people's home” was a pragmatic system that encompassed teaching and learning in subjects ranging from engineering to local heritage (Ahrne, Roman, and Franzén 2008, 36; Gustafsson 2011; Sörlin 2006, 49–51).

The Swedish nation was built using customs and symbols. One particularly strong symbol was the flag. Sporting competitions and ways of remembering are also linked to what is known as the cultural production of symbols (Sörlin 2006, 79). At the beginning of the twentieth century, teachers were advised to make the flag part of the landscape by guiding children's perceptions in that direction. A 1919 textbook compared the colors of the flag to the colors of nature: “blue as the sky and yellow as the sun [. . .] Sweden is our country, our homeland; let us go out and take a look at our land”² (Nordblad 2009, 95). A teacher's guide for local studies from the year 1950 emphasized respect in handling the flag because it was the symbol of the nation (Sjöholm and Goës 1950a, 117–19).

Depictions of the yard in the Swedish material often include a flag and, occasionally, two crossed flags in a heraldic style. For example, a home in Erkheikki,

2 Translation by Päivi Granö.

located in a river landscape, is shown painted using the typical red ochre color. In front of the house, a flag is flying; the yard has flowers; and the background landscape shows a river, woods, and fells glimmering in the distance (figure 4). Fanny Kitti's watercolor of the village of Vojakkala depicts a red house with birch trees standing symmetrically in pairs on both sides of it. In addition, the picture is decorated with blue, yellow, and red floral ornaments (figure 5). Teachers also encouraged people in the village to work on their yards and gardens. Different forms of



Figure 4 (above left); figure 5 (above); figure 6 (below left).

presentation—pictures and material symbols being a perfect case in point—may be used to create nationalistic representations (Häggström 2000, 15–17, 37). The children's drawings of their yards epitomize the Swedish ideal of the home that was

highlighted in the paintings of Carl Larsson and illustrated in school textbooks and on blackboards (see, e.g., Borrmann, Salminen, and Wigforss 1949; Sjöholm and Goës 1950a, 1950b; Wahlstedt 2000).

Blom (2001) emphasizes the connection between the differentiated roles of nationalism and gender. In the Nordic countries in the early 1900s, the family was the core and symbol of the nation. Everything that happened in the home was both public and political (320–22). In the contest material, the tasks of men, women, and children, and the places where this work is done, are at least partially differentiated. On the cover of a notebook, a picture made by Greta Thornberg, a sixth-grader from the school in Erkheikki, shows her family with three children gathered in the kitchen or living room (figure 6). The father is engrossed in the newspaper; the mother is bustling about, carrying a bowl; and the tidily dressed children are playing on the floor. The furnishings are depicted meticulously. Greta's drawing tells the viewer not only about the division of work within the family, but about the aesthetics of the home as well. The children's compositions about the home tell about big families and constant work. There was no shortage of work for either gender in the Torne Valley. A girl from the Täreendö area told how the bigger children took care of their younger brothers and sisters because their mothers had so much work to do. "All the mothers have to work all the time" (NBM, F1: 25). The materials indicate that men's work took place in the forests, fields, and outside of the village. The agrarian ideal also included children participating in the chores defined by their gender and thus making a solid contribution to the family economy. However, industrialization was changing the nature of work and detaching children from the ideal of diligence, as well as from their community.

IMAGE AND TIME IN LANDSCAPES

The relation between local heritage and landscape is crucial: a landscape can play a role in shaping an identity that becomes attached to a place. The national landscape in Sweden and Finland was built using national images, which comprised both paintings and printed images (Häyrynen 2005, 183–84).

Fransson describes how in the early 1900s the Swedish national landscape was built among provinces that actually differed quite a bit from one another. Any emphasis on these differences might have been regarded as a threat to national unification, but on the other hand could be seen as an attempt to build a genuine and special Swedishness (Fransson 2010; Häggström 2000, 15–17). The Torne Valley had not been given a general visual representation, whereas Lapland, with its fells,

was depicted as the naturally beautiful home of the Sámi (Crang 1999, 454–70; Sörlin 2011, 23–38, 54–56). In Finnish Lapland, the national identity was closely bound to the visualized landscape because there was little written history defining the region (Hautala-Hirvioja 2011, 185).

In both countries, the school constructed an aestheticized landscape and taught children to see it in a specific way. It was typical to view a landscape as part of a national panorama (Hilli-Tammilehto and Tani 1999, 70; see also Topelius [1875] 1923). Teachers and, in particular, geography textbooks and readers using regional texts played a key role in constructing regional identities (Jacobsson 1999, chapter 1; see also Lagerlöf's children's book *Nils Holgerssons underbara resa genom Sverige* (*The Wonderful Adventures of Nils* [1906–7]), which aimed to unite the country, the landscape, and the fatherland in Sweden on an emotional level). The paintings of Swedish visual artists also ended up on the cardboard posters in school, and teachers used them as visual aids. However, these posters had very little material connected with the north, and the nearly ubiquitous pictures of the seasons, showing the wood anemones of spring and farm landscapes from central Sweden, no doubt looked foreign to children living farther north (cf. Wahlstedt 2000). The posters nevertheless did include material that could be used with children to describe work, landscapes, buildings, and animals. For example, teachers' guides to local studies (Sjöholm and Goës 1950a, 1950b) had color supplements as well as instructions on how to draw on the blackboard. The tasks in the *Bygdespegeln* (lit. "regional mirror") contest contain numerous references to these examples of pictures to be drawn on the board.

The local heritage project for the children in the Torne Valley takes on an interesting aspect in light of the need to depict the national and local landscape. On the one hand, at the beginning of the 1900s, the regional landscape had not yet acquired a pre-defined identity and was in need of one (Fransson 2010, 13–15). On the other hand, the government's aim of achieving a national unity meant that the special character of the border region was not to be emphasized.

The depictions of landscapes produced by the schoolchildren in Finnish Lapland are based on their lived experiences, yet they also draw on the models for describing landscapes in the Sámi region. The images do not differ from the drawings and paintings made by children in southern Finland in describing how the Sámi live. The pupils seem to echo the content and forms of expression they had seen in storybooks and on school posters.

The children's depictions of the landscape are representations of a cultural landscape. People are present in the landscape as hard-working actors. In several

images, in particular those dealing with Lapland, the landscape becomes the object of an aestheticized gaze. According to de Certeau (1984), narrativity is essential in examining spatial themes. He stresses the use of space in daily life, where place is by nature shared and social (115). Although their place was constructed culturally, children contributed to it with their experience through drawings and texts. They modified the place, creating one that was significant to them (Tuan 1977, 6–9). The regional and national identities met at the banks of the Torne River. According to Häggström (2000), the constructive nature of this identity is laid bare at the border because it is constructed in relation to a prominent Other (35–38). Indeed, in examining the landscapes drawn by the children, it is essential to link the images to the surrounding community, the school, and the children's lives in their immediate environment. Doing so reveals that place is already culturally constructed in a particular form, but that the children also shape it and define their relation to it with their pictures.

CONCLUSION

The materials from the Finnish and Swedish art and essay contests substantiate the aims of the teaching in the schools: knowing one's locality generates a feeling of solidarity with one's homeland and, in particular, its values. In Finland, the war became a crucial time for the self-image of people and communities and for the construction of a collective memory (Lähteenmäki 1999, 220). Many people wanted to forget what had happened. While children's drawings and paintings represent personal memories to some extent, above all they reflect a collectively adopted and approved way of describing things that allowed people to deal with difficult memories. Participating in the Kansanapu contest offered children a significant outlet for expressing themselves at a time when a refusal to talk about the past was the norm in everyday life, and children, if anyone, were ill-equipped to understand the mental consequences that the war had for adults (see Kivimäki 2013).

In Sweden, the intensification of cultural, social, linguistic, and political unity along the country's northern border was a conscious national aim (Elenius 2009, 32). The schools in the Torne Valley eagerly seized the opportunity offered them to build a regional identity using the methods provided by local studies. The contest, focusing on local heritage and organized in the early 1950s, replicated many aspects of teaching local heritage from the times before the war, but at the same time—paradoxically—it emphasized a distance from the past. Schoolchildren in the 1950s looked ahead. New inventions, increased mobility and consumption, as well as a

unified culture, fascinated these children, who came from large families of modest means.

The content analysis focuses on the image itself, but if a holistic interpretation is included, the analysis can reflect the social and cultural image of the home and home district. Furthermore, the researchers' way of looking is present. As many studies have shown, the ways of seeing are historically, geographically, culturally, and socially specific (Rose 2008; Bal 2001).

The images produced by the Finnish and Swedish children reveal a rather uniform Nordic cultural area in which conceptions of family, landscape, and home region are essentially similar. In the period after the war, the differences that did exist stood out more and were consciously brought to the fore. Teaching related to local heritage had a link to the identity of the individual and the community, an identity that can be seen as local, cultural, and national (Hall, Lehtonen, and Herkman 1999, 223–29; Clarke 2008). The process of constructing a home region in Finnish Lapland in the 1940s and in the Torne Valley of Sweden in the 1950s was carried out locally as part of the educational mission of the schools, but the aim was a broader national unity.

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FINNISH ENTERPRISES AND PERCEPTIONS FOR ECONOMIC DECLINE

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ABSTRACT

The Finnish Company Reorganization Act (FCRA) came into force on February 8, 1993. According to this legislation, a reorganization program may be undertaken in order to rehabilitate a distressed debtor's viable business, to ensure its continued viability, and to facilitate debt arrangements. This study concentrates on fourteen Finnish entrepreneurs who were accepted into the reorganization program between 2008 and 2010. The focus here is on the entrepreneurs' thoughts about their own behavior and their own character, and how these were connected to their economic decline, as well as their perceptions of their own strengths as entrepreneurs. The results indicate that these entrepreneurs' strengths and weaknesses can be divided into different categories concerning working habits and character. The reasons for the weaknesses were connected to external factors such as lack of funding, high expenses, and a recession. Other reasons included problems with the entrepreneurs' own behavior and personality. The insights into these Finnish entrepreneurs' difficulties could help new entrepreneurs in the beginning of their careers. Additionally, the results could be used in courses on entrepreneurship, for example, in relation to helping budding entrepreneurs to understand their potential weaknesses and how to avoid the risks inherent in self-management.

Keywords: Entrepreneurs, economic difficulties, economic decline

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INTRODUCTION

Venture failure has many serious consequences, including the loss of financial and social capital, the loss of requisite skills, such as self-efficacy and resilience, in the population of entrepreneurs (Wood and Bandura 1989), the stigmatization and devaluation of key actors in failed concerns (Weisenfeld, Wurthmann, and Hambrick 2008), and even the loss of the productive potential of economies (McGrath 1999). Several studies have examined factors contributing to the success or failure of new ventures (Shane 2001). For example, the study by Cardon, Stevens, and Potter (2011) disclosed that failure has a large impact on the stigmatization of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship within a locale, as well as on the individual entrepreneurs' views of themselves following failure. In Finland, bankruptcy usually causes enormous shame, but there are also countries that take it much more lightly. However, it is believed that people learn more from failures than successes (McGrath 1999; Sitkin 1992), and failure is an important phenomenon in entrepreneurship, in terms of both its causes and consequences for individuals, organizations, and society (McGrath 1999; McGrath and Cardon 1997; Shane 2001). After a business failure, owner-managers have an opportunity to learn from the experience (Baker, Aldrich, Langton, and Cliff 1997; Corbett, Neck, and DeTienne 2007; Shepherd 2003) and improve their entrepreneurial competence (McGrath and Cardon 1997). Some owner-managers state that failure also acts as a catalyst for further economic and business development (McGrath 1999). According to Cope (2011), entrepreneurs learn a lot not only about themselves and the demise of their ventures but also about the nature of networks and relationships and the "pressure point" of venture management. Analyzing causes of failure can enhance learning from such failure (Singh, Corner, and Pavlovich 2007) and thus potentially help current and future entrepreneurs to avoid failures.

Weitzel and Jonsson (1989) state: "Organizations enter the state of decline when they fail to anticipate, recognize, avoid, neutralize, or adapt to external or internal pressures that threaten the organizations' long term survival" (94). Generally, periods of economic crisis have been investigated through a focus on strategic actions taken in large multicultural companies, usually classified as strategies of growth, stabilization, or reorganization (Ackoff 1970; Hofer and Schendel 1978; Hilt and Ireland 1985; Penrose 1959; Wernefelt 1984).

With regard to reorganization, the Finnish Company Reorganization Act (FCRA) originally came into force in 1993. The objective of FCRA is to recover a viable company, which is in temporary financial distress but which will be able

to meet its obligations in the future. Under the Finnish Bankruptcy Act (FBA), bankruptcy means that the assets of an unviable firm are liquidated and divided by the creditors of the firm. Nearly ninety countries around the world have reformed their bankruptcy codes since World War II, and more than half of them have done so during the last decade (Gine and Love 2006, 2). All states seek to improve the efficiency of their procedures by encouraging the reorganization of viable firms and the liquidation of unviable ones (Laitinen 2012). The FCRA originated in the rapid increase in bankrupt firms during the depression between 1989 and 1992, when, among other negative consequences, bankruptcies caused severe economic losses to the Finnish economy (Bergström and Sundgren 1998; Sundgren 1998). The shortcomings of the Finnish Bankruptcy Act led to the enactment of the Finnish Company Reorganization Act in 1993. In terms of payoff, FCRA has shown itself to be efficient. The evidence presented by Sundgren (1998) indicates that creditors have received a better payoff under reorganization procedures than via bankruptcy liquidation. The FCRA allows a distressed firm or its creditors to file a petition for reorganization either directly or after a petition for bankruptcy is filed and active. When the reorganization petition is submitted to the court, the firm can be protected against the demands of creditors through a procedure known as an automatic stay. Thus, the provisions of the FCRA can be used to avoid bankruptcy liquidation, at least temporarily, even if the firm is unviable. If the firm is not permitted by the court to file for reorganization, it may become bankrupt. A firm may also be declared bankrupt if it fails to adhere to the reorganization program (Laitinen 2012).

In case of bigger companies, during the reorganization program, the chair of the firm will be changed, because it has been observed that problems are usually related to the wrong kind of manager. A change is not possible in the case of small firms (Laakso 2012). This is why it would be important for entrepreneurs to have self-awareness and to know how their character and personality may affect their business. However, studies of the behavior and characteristics of entrepreneurs facing economic difficulties are still scarce, and to date there is none investigating the situation in Finland. This study redresses the balance. It reports on Finnish entrepreneurs whose firms are given permission to enter reorganization and their opinions of the reasons for their companies' downfall. The purpose is to enhance the knowledge of the reasons behind the economic decline in Finland.

BACKGROUND THEORIES AND STUDIES

Finland has about 283,000 firms (excluding farmers, forest owners, and fishers), which employ 1.4 million people. Almost 99 percent of those companies employ fewer than fifty people, and over the past ten years more new working places have been created by small- and middle-sized firms than by large firms (Suomen virallinen tilasto).

The history of the Federation of Finnish Enterprises is an important part of Finnish history of entrepreneurial freedom. Entrepreneurial freedom was assured in 1879, when it was stated that Finnish citizens almost completely have the freedom to start all the businesses that they want. Entrepreneurial freedom is the basis of Finnish entrepreneurship in today's Finland as well (Suomen Yrittäjät).

The Federation of Finnish Enterprises was formed at the end of the nineteenth century. It was focused on those who had handicraft skills, including master-journeymen² and tradesmen. These entrepreneurs united their crafts and made their own association (Suomen Yrittäjät).

Concerning a beneficial atmosphere for entrepreneurship, Ilmakunnas and Kanniainen (2001) state that the best guarantee is stable national economy. When Finland joined the European Union and the European Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), the risks concerning monetary policy decreased, and limitations for inflation were created. The conditions have become prerequisites for Finnish entrepreneurship. It has been noted in the worldwide cross-sectional data set of eighty countries that high statutory and high effective corporate income-tax rates reduce business density and entrepreneurship entry rates (Da Rin, Giacomo, and Sembenelli 2011; Djankov et al. 2010). Block (2016) also states that reducing corporate income-tax rates or increasing tax progressivity increases entrepreneurship rates. Finland is well known as a country of high taxation, and this has been claimed as one of the biggest barriers to starting one's own business in Finland. However, some claim that the barrier for entrepreneurship is more about the attitude than factual reasons themselves. In the Amway Global Entrepreneurship Report 2013, with over 26,000 respondents from 24 countries, the results indicate that 87 percent of Finnish people see entrepreneurship positively (the global average is 77 percent). However, only 41 percent of Finnish respondents can imagine themselves starting their own firms (the global average is 43 percent). For comparison, these percentages

2 Throughout Finland's history, it has been typical that people learned new skills and their professions via masters. That happened when journeymen worked together with masters and learned by practice.

in the United States are 84 percent with a positive attitude towards entrepreneurship and 51 percent for entrepreneurial potential. Even though the positive attitude in the United States toward entrepreneurship is lower than in Finland, the actual potential is higher. It may be because around 60 percent of Finnish people are afraid of failure, and experience this as an obstacle to starting a business, when only 37 percent of people in the USA share this view (Amway Global Entrepreneurship Report 2013).

According to numbers gathered from Statistics Finland from the years 2010 to 2015, an average of 3,299 companies in Finland faced bankruptcy every year, 624 firms applied for the reorganization program, and, of those, 205 were accepted into the program (Suomen virallinen tilasto). Some weaknesses with the Finnish reorganization program have been noted: for instance, only 50 percent of those firms will complete the entire program; the FCRA does not have enough incentives that firms can apply for while in the program; firms do not apply to get into the program early enough; and the courts do not have equal criteria for the entrance, which means that some courts will deny applications more often than others (Laakso 2012).

ENTREPRENEURIAL FAILURE: THE PROCESS AND UNDERLYING REASONS

Weitzel and Johnsson (1989) presented a model of the stages of decline and outlined the possible organizational responses at each stage. In the absence of appropriate corrective measures, organizations in decline will proceed through the following five stages: (1) the blinded stage occurs when an organization is unable to recognize adverse changes and signals at the start of its decline; (2) the inaction stage, in which the organization recognizes its problems, but does not take corrective action because of the perceived costs of reform or confusion over the appropriate response, at which point the decline becomes noticeable; (3) faulty action refers to an organization taking some form of action, but the response is ineffective because incorrect decisions are made or because of inadequate implementation; (4) the crisis stage is marked by internal disunity as the organization recognizes that drastic action is needed, but this action is not taking place; leaders may be ousted and revolutionary changes proposed; the crisis stage represents the last chance for reorganization and reversal; (5) the final stage is dissolution: reform efforts have failed, stimulating intense internal conflict and the exit of key members and personnel; regardless of effort level, the demise of the organization can no longer be avoided.

Each of the above consecutive stages presents progressively more difficult challenges for internal or external adaptation, requiring more drastic and costly

measures if the decline is to be reversed. Each stage also brings with it a predictable pattern of behavior on the part of organizational actors, allowing observers to anticipate the kinds of politics the organization will experience if a downward trajectory continues. The survival strategies of small companies are usually based on the rationalization of working practices, sales of property, and delay of payments (Chowdhury, Shamsud, and Lang 1996). Chowdhury and Lang (1996) argue that when managing the turnaround process of small companies, the critical elements for survival are the speed of economic decline and the resources available. They also suggest that cutting costs would be good as a short-term turnaround strategy.

Rasheed (2005) argues that there are two views of a company's failure: the deterministic view and the voluntaristic view. The deterministic view could be summarized as excessive control of the company by factors in the environment; therefore, a company's failure is attributable to environmental factors. In contrast, the voluntaristic view could be summarized as the company's control of the environment; therefore, any failure is attributable to factors inherent to the company itself (Rasheed 2005). Some studies investigating the reasons for crises in small companies have divided the relevant reasons into those originating externally or those that originate internally, within the entrepreneurs themselves. Sullivan, Warren, and Westbrook (1998) found that the reasons for bankruptcy are usually external to the business (38.5 percent), funding-related reasons (28.0 percent), or business-internal factors (27.1 percent). According to Zacharakis, Meyer, and DeCastro (1999) entrepreneurs themselves reported the main reason to be the lack of skills or strategic planning, while those who funded these companies reported company-external factors such as market circumstances as major reasons for failure. Headd (2003) ascribed the failure of an enterprise primarily to a lack of capital at its inception compounded by a lack of experience. According to Phillips and Kirchoff (1989), those firms with a desire to grow tend to be more successful than those without a desire to grow. According to Perry (2001), businesses not following written plans are more likely to fail than those companies operating in accordance with written plans. Finally, Gaskill, Van Auken, and Manning (1993) argue that the major reasons for business failure are the weak skills of entrepreneurs, a weak external business environment, weak skills in funding management, growth problems, and overall weak management skills.

ENTREPRENEURS' PERSONALITY

Among the most famous studies of the entrepreneur's personality is that of McClelland (1965). McClelland proposed the theory of the need to achieve. Many

studies have confirmed that a need for achievement is associated with entrepreneurs (Collins, Hanges, and Locke 2004; Tan 2001; Taormina and Lao 2007) and also with entrepreneurial inclination (Koh 1996). The literary review carried out by Tuunanen (1997) indicates that the need for achievement is a key entrepreneurial trait and a major factor in entrepreneurial behavior. The theory of the need to achieve hypothesizes that the most successful entrepreneurs have a strong need to achieve, and they want to solve problems themselves, set targets, and strive to meet those targets through their own efforts (McClelland 1965).

Rotter (1966) investigated people's relationship with the locus of control. The study found people with an internal locus of control to be active types and to believe that individuals control their own lives. Having an external locus of control encourages passivity and the belief that people's lives are controlled more by external factors than by individuals themselves. Naturally, entrepreneurship is associated with individuals with an internal locus of control (Gartner 1988; Shaver and Scott 1991) and with an entrepreneurial inclination (Koh 1996). Littunen (2000) studied entrepreneurs' locus of control in different phases of entrepreneurship and concluded that after four years of functioning, mastery of a situation increased (sample item: "I prefer to work in situations that require a high level of skill") and the influence of powerful others decreased (sample item: "my life is chiefly controlled by powerful others"). In addition, the importance of the external locus of control diminished as the number of cooperative partners and control by powerful others decreased and learning and independence increased. Both internal locus and the need to achieve were investigated by Lee and Tsang (2001) in relation to venture growth among Chinese entrepreneurs. The results indicated that entrepreneurs' experience, networking activities, and number of partners, as well as an internal locus of control and a need for achievement all have a positive impact on venture growth. Industrial and managerial experience are the dominant factors particularly affecting venture growth. Entrepreneurs have been found to be ambitious and independent people (Lee and Chan 1998), with a proclivity for risk taking (Caird 1993; Tan 2001), a high tolerance of risk (Kihlstrom and Laffont 1979), and an aptitude for social networking (Taormina and Lao 2007). Several studies have found that entrepreneurs are also optimists (Cooper, Woo, and Dunkelberg 1988; Taormina and Lao 2007). Moreover, entrepreneurs are reported to have strong business instincts, the ability to identify business opportunities, the ability to correct errors effectively, and the ability to grasp profitable opportunities (Caird 1993). Other traits associated with an entrepreneurial inclination are innovativeness and tolerance of ambiguity (Koh

1996). McClelland (1987) noted that successful entrepreneurs are typically more assertive than “average” entrepreneurs. According to Brandstätter (1997), success correlates positively with entrepreneurs’ emotional stability and independence. Successful entrepreneurs have also been ascribed the ability to take risks, they are innovative, knowledgeable about how the market functions, they have expertise in manufacturing, marketing, and business management, and they are able to cooperate (Casson 1982).

McCarthy (2003) studied the entrepreneur’s character and the development of strategy in small- and medium-sized firms. The study identified two main types of entrepreneurs: the pragmatist and the charismatic. These two types showed different patterns of strategic behavior. The study suggested that charismatic entrepreneurs evaluate their high propensity for risk taking, in the decision-making process. This results in a more rational, planned approach to the strategy-making process. Financial planning became a priority for both types of entrepreneur.

Finnish entrepreneurs differ from North American entrepreneurs according to studies by Tuunanen (1997) and Hyrsky and Tuunanen (1999). Tuunanen (1997) studied the need for achievement, and the results indicated that North American entrepreneurs have a stronger achievement motivation than their Finnish counterparts. Statistically significant differences were found between the samples and every subgroup analyzed by Tuunanen (1997), according to gender, business goals, start-up roles, and business planning mode. Hyrsky and Tuunanen (1999) compared North American (N=456) and Finnish (N=434) entrepreneurs and found that the North Americans tend to have a greater propensity for risk-taking than the Finns, who tend to be more conservative and risk-averse. Regarding gender, in the combined Finnish and North American sample, women exhibit higher levels of preference for innovation than men. However, male respondents score significantly higher on risk-taking (Hyrsky and Tuunanen 1999).

UNSUCCESSFUL ENTREPRENEURS AND THEIR PERSONALITY

There has been some focus on entrepreneurial failure and the personality and characteristics of those entrepreneurs who fail (e.g., Cantner, Silbereisen, and Wilfling 2011; Landiers and Thesmar 2009; Ucbasaran, Westhead, Wright, and Flores 2010), although research in this field is very rare.

For example, Landiers and Thesmar (2009) studied French entrepreneurs and found that preconceptions may be (partly) explained by individual characteristics and that such preconceptions tend to be permanent. Additionally, they found that

short-term debt is robustly correlated with “optimistic” expectation errors. This means that optimistic people tend to appraise their firms’ future success better than it actually is, and thus they make decisions that are not very beneficial to their firms, for example, by taking on short-term debts (Landiers and Thesmar 2009). Optimism was also a central theme in the study of small-scale businesses. Meza and Southey (1996) argue that most of the aspects that characterize small-scale businesses, including high failure rates, reliance on bank credit rather than equity finance, relatively low interest-rate margins, and credit rationing, can be explained by new entrants being dominated by people with a tendency to be excessively optimistic. In contrast, Ucbasaran et al. (2010) investigated 576 entrepreneurs from Great Britain and found experience with business failure to be associated with entrepreneurs who tend not to describe themselves as optimistic. While the previous section listed several examples of research indicating that entrepreneurs are optimists (Cooper, Woo, and Dunkelberg 1988; Taormina and Lao 2007), it seems that optimism may also cause entrepreneurs to get into financial difficulty. However, it is better to be more positive, because emotional volatility and worrying can create obstacles for entrepreneurs (Vesper 1990). In Cantner, Silbereisen, and Wilfling’s study (2011), the focus was on the Big-Five personality traits and entrepreneurial failure in innovative industries. The findings suggest that agreeable entrepreneurs are less likely to fail than their less agreeable counterparts, but conscientiousness does increase the failure rate. When researchers interviewed insolvency administrators in Latvia, the personal reasons offered for insolvency were the inability to cope with increasing competition, a lack of adaptability, and overconfidence (Sauka and Welter 2010).

This study focuses on entrepreneurs involved in the reorganization program and elicits their thoughts about their strengths and weaknesses. Recognizing those characteristics might help other entrepreneurs in the midst of economic difficulty and might also help those who have entrepreneurial inclinations to exploit their strengths as well to recognize and ameliorate (perhaps with the assistance of other people) the effects of behavior that is counterproductive for business.

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

I interviewed fourteen Finnish entrepreneurs whose firms had been accepted for the reorganization program between 2008 and 2010. The coordinator of the research group acquired the information of all applicants to the re-organization program and asked suitable entrepreneurs if they would want to participate in the study. Those who work in farming were not included because they differ from other entrepreneurs

(e.g., they cannot impact their selling prices, competition is different, and they get support from the state and the European Union), and thus are not usually described as typical entrepreneurs in Finland.

Entrepreneurs who were interviewed. Field of work, ownership, gender, and turnover (in euros) are included. R=Respondent. In the text the citations are marked with R1, R2, etc., to refer to the entrepreneur in question.	
R1	Handcraft, female, 23,000 €.
R2	Car repair, male, 97,364 €.
R3	Cleaning, married couple working together, 117,962 €. The female was the leading person, and she was the one interviewed.
R4	House renovations, male, 199,009 €.
R5	Gardening, married couple working together, 148,629 €. The female was the leading person, and she was the one interviewed.
R6	Accounting company, male, 38,999 €.
R7	Clothing store, four siblings, who inherited the company from their parents, 551,918 €. Two of the four siblings were interviewed (female and male).
R8	Discount store, two male entrepreneurs; one was interviewed, 1,719,243 €.
R9	Construction, male, 34,000 €.
R10	Oven store, married couple, 343,318 €. The male was the leading person, and he was the one interviewed.
R11	Transport company, male, 1,143,119 €.
R12	Vegetable grower, married couple, 205,305 €. The male was the leading person and he was the one interviewed.
R13	Electronics, two male entrepreneurs, 2,335,699 €. One of the two was interviewed.
R14	Publishing, female, 459,730 €.

Table 1. Interview subjects.

The research participants were selected to include different fields of work. Also, the entrepreneurs themselves had to be agreeable with this research. The interviews focused on possible reasons for decline, their experience as entrepreneurs, and their mental well being. All respondents were very positive about the research topic and wanted to share their information in the hope that they could help other entrepreneurs. The entrepreneurs and their firms are presented in Table 1. Four of those firms included in the study were run by married couples and three enterprises by two or more entrepreneurs, with the remainder run by one entrepreneur. Four

women, nine men, and one couple were interviewed. All but one of the firms represented were micro enterprises; the one exception was a small enterprise.

The subjects were interviewed by visiting them. The researchers felt that a personal visit would elicit more information than a telephone interview. The language of the interviews was Finnish. The entrepreneurs were very open and analyzed their situation and life openly. The interviews were transcribed, and the content was analyzed before groups of strengths and weaknesses were formulated, as well as the reasons for the downfall of the entrepreneurs' companies. The participants' Finnish replies were translated into English.

RESULTS

The current research proceeds by first examining the participating entrepreneurs' self-reported character strengths and weaknesses and then reporting their thoughts on the reasons for their companies' problems. Those reasons are subsequently assessed to isolate the deterministic from the voluntaristic views.

ENTREPRENEURS' CHARACTERS

The results can be divided into four categories: entrepreneurs' strengths related to work, weaknesses related to work, strengths related to their own character, and weaknesses related to their own character (see Figure 1 on p. 137).

Figure 1 shows the four categories of **strengths in work skills** (professionalism, experience, high quality, customer service). Nine entrepreneurs reported that their professional strength was their own skills and *professional skills*. Example quotations included the following (in the brackets are entrepreneurs' codes R1, R2, R3, etc., which can be found in Table 1):

- (1) There is a very wide range of things I can do. (R9, male)
- (2) We know the basic things, and we have product knowledge.
(R7, siblings: one female and one male)
- (3) We try to be professional, and if we don't know something, we will find out. (R3, female)

Three entrepreneurs mentioned their work experience:

- (4) . . . a long [working] history behind [in this field], it is one strength.
(R7, siblings: one female and one male)

(5) Yes, it is a strength that we have been in this field for fifteen years. We have experience and knowledge. (R8, male)

Two entrepreneurs mentioned the *high quality* of products or *customer service*. They were liked by customers, because of their social skills:

(6) The quality of the products, or my own criteria for products, is very high. (R1, female)

(7) . . . in my opinion, communicating with people is also good. (R9, male)

Three categories were related to **weaknesses in work skills**: pricing, lack of time, others. *Pricing* was mentioned by four entrepreneurs: they undervalued their own work.

(8) I don't appreciate myself or regard myself well enough, so I cannot ask such a high price. Or at least it is quite hard. (R1, female)

(9) As a child, I was raised to consider others, and that you shouldn't take too much from others, and that you should give others what you have, so I never can do pricing for the products. (R12, couple)

Lack of time was mentioned by three entrepreneurs, and one of them raised the issue many times in different contexts:

(10) This lack of time is, of course, what continuously causes me problems, trying to balance work and family matters. (R2, male)

(11) Because of the lack of time, there has been little focus on the economic side; we have been thinking since that we should have been more focused on economic issues concerning booking, calculation profits and expenses etc. (R11, male)

Other issues mentioned were marketing, paperwork, and routines. For example, when speaking of marketing, one entrepreneur said:

(12) I cannot do ads and those sorts of things. (R2, male)

Four categories related to **strength of character** (optimism, industriousness, persistence, and others). *Optimism* was mentioned by four entrepreneurs:

(13) I am probably quite optimistic, that in my basic nature, I believe . . .
I always believe next year will be better. (R5, female)

Three entrepreneurs said that they were hardworking:

(14) and then we are all very hardworking, a little bit too much. . . .
(R7, female and male)

Persistence was mentioned by two entrepreneurs:

(15) Trying with resilience, not giving up, are clear strengths. . . .
(R12, couple)

Other strengths noted were analytical thinking, calmness, the ability to find help when necessary, planning, taking part at work like everybody else, efficiency, and the ability to solve problems. Four categories were assessed as indicating **weaknesses in character**: working too much, being too kind, lack of planning, and others. Five respondents regarded themselves as *too kind*. They illustrated this with the following kinds of statements:

(16) I am not hard enough. People should have an enormous business attitude, that you should be able to do hard business. That must be lacking in me, I am probably too empathetic, too sensitive. I cannot think only of myself. (R5, female)

Working too much, which was described as a strength, too, was mentioned by four respondents:

(17) Yes, I have been doing too much. It is also one weak side, making myself tired [. . .] but seven years like that, that I had [only] one day per week off. That rhythm was too hard. The capacity is not enough.
(R11, male)

Two respondents said that they *lacked planning skills*; they did not plan enough beforehand the bigger tasks that they were doing (e.g., building and repairing houses), and this affected time management and pricing:

(18) I could have planned things a little more before starting them. That might have helped. But I am a little bit restless in that way, that I want things to happen. (R4, male)

Three respondents brought up other reasons such as age (not being innovative like younger people), a lack of money, and a lack of enthusiasm.

REASONS OFFERED BY ENTREPRENEURS FOR THE DECLINE OF THEIR FIRMS

The number of reasons offered by each entrepreneur for their difficulties varied from one to seven. The fourteen entrepreneurs offered altogether thirty-eight explanations, with the average of 2.7 explanations per entrepreneur. In the analysis, I have grouped the reasons into fifteen different themes.

The reason most frequently mentioned (by six entrepreneurs) was that their business **(1) did not have enough customers**, for various reasons. One major reason was competition:

(19) Then one after another, quite quickly, customers decided to transfer those subcontract tasks to another importer. (R2, male)

Another important reason offered was changes at markets. New market places were created worldwide via the Internet:

(20) Because this shopping system started to change so much and this webshop started to develop. People just came and looked at our expensive products and said that they would buy from the web because it is so much cheaper. (R10, male)

Additional reasons for the lack of customers were bad weather, the beginning of a recession during an important business season, and the company's new location, which customers could not find. A further often mentioned issue (by five entrepreneurs) was problems with the entrepreneur's own behavior or attitude and the lack of funding. **(2) Problems with own behavior** included the following kinds of comments:

(21) Lost faith and motivation and future vision. (R5, female)

(22) Too modest with pricing. (R1, female)

(23) Not enough energy to do paperwork. (R9, male)

Three entrepreneurs mentioned major costs or **(3) lack of funding** (four entrepreneurs). According to Sullivan, Warren, and Westbrook (1998) and to Headd (2003), funding problems are—not surprisingly—one of the most typical

reasons for failure. My study confirms this as well. The informants commented on the lack of funding: for example, they had to compromise on the location of a shop, or they could not afford new products because all the available money was already tied up in the current stock. A bad season exacerbated the situation.

(4) **Large expenses** were mentioned by four entrepreneurs, who said that the field was mostly working with personnel (personnel costs are quite big in Finland), and their new personnel did not produce enough in sufficient speed. The following comment sums this up:

(24) Those invoices started to build up. (R7, siblings)

(5) **The recession** was also mentioned by three entrepreneurs. One said that it came earlier than they anticipated:

(25) And after growth in the Christmas period, we thought that the recession would not happen in the coming year and we would get our enterprise functioning in that time. (R8, male)

Two entrepreneurs offered low prices, customers not paying their bills, bad investments, a poor new business location, or overall bad luck as reasons for failure. Two people cited (6) **low prices**. Another one said that market prices were low, which meant that entrepreneurs could not raise their prices. Another reason why entrepreneurs did not feel able to raise prices was because they did not think that the product or service justified a higher price.

(7) **Partners proving unreliable** was offered as a reason for failure in three instances. The problem arose either because customers did not pay for goods, or other partners—who were supposed to give funding—did not fulfill their promises. One interviewee offered the following statement to illustrate this:

(26) The wrong people at the wrong place to manage; they did not work in accordance to earlier promises, and so it started slowly to fray at the edges. (R8, male)

(8) **Poor investments**, such as for a plot of land, caused problems for entrepreneurs. One entrepreneur made a considerable investment in the plot of land, but finding the money to pay for it proved too difficult.

(9) **Poor choice of location for a new business** was a reason why customers did not find some entrepreneurs' shops. Two entrepreneurs claimed that their problems were attributable to (10) **bad luck**: many things happened at the same

time. As examples, they list insufficient funding combined with a bad season and a poor location for the shop.

Isolated items that were mentioned as reasons for failure included **(11) scarce resources**, **(12) long work days**, and **(13) bad timing** for a change of business location. One entrepreneur describes the scarce resources:

(27) . . . when you listen to Kesko [one of the two major retail chains in Finland] or some other bigger place, when the recession comes, they will put a hundred times more marketing money into the business. We had to do the opposite. (R8, male)

Long work days were the reason why some job-related tasks were not particularly appealing. The following entrepreneur found bookkeeping chores tedious:

(28) . . . after a sixteen-hour working day, I could not be bothered to look at papers very closely. (R9, male)

Finally, bad timing for a change of business locations affected one entrepreneur who changed locations just as the recession started, and whose business then required two years to complete the move. During this transition period, the business could not operate at an optimal level.

THE DETERMINISTIC AND VOLUNTARISTIC VIEWS IDENTIFIED

Further analysis can divide the responses roughly into deterministic and voluntary views (Rasheed 2005). A total of ten reasons can be categorized under the deterministic view, where the environment controls the company. Those reasons include lack of customers and funding; large expenses; the recession; new personnel; customers not paying bills; poor location for the business; bad luck; disappointments with partners; and bad timing for a change of business location.

The remaining five reasons can be categorized as exemplifying the voluntaristic view, whereby the company controls the environment. Those reasons include issues around the entrepreneurs' own behavior; low prices; poor investments; scarce resources; and long working days. Thus we can conclude that according to the interviews, most of the entrepreneurs ascribed the downfall of their businesses to environmental factors. However, many of those reasons can be categorized under either view: for example, a lack of customers can be the result of unwise actions by a business owner, and it is very difficult to say what exactly is attributable to the environment and what to the entrepreneur. In most cases, there was no single obvious

reason for the firm's downfall, but the important point is how well the entrepreneur can analyze the situation and learn from the possible mistakes made. Many of the apparently deterministic reasons offered for a firm's decline can be regarded as voluntaristic reasons. This is the case for large expenses, personnel expenses, low prices, poor investments, and long working days. In the case of large expenses, one entrepreneur admitted that the reason was also because they did not follow up on the situation carefully:

(29) The world has changed and we haven't been able to follow the situation so much, so the expenses grew so hard to bear, and we didn't react to them early enough. (R7, siblings)

In addition, personnel expenses could become problematic because they were allowed to spiral. Similarly, the reasoning that long working days did not allow the entrepreneur to keep the paperwork up to date may reflect the entrepreneur's poor organizational skills and time management. Hard work has traditionally been appreciated in Finland, and it has been said it is the outcome of Finnish Lutheran parenting. However, working should be focused, like respondents here say. The 50 percent of entrepreneurs (seven of the fourteen) admitted (some as asides and some directly) that they made mistakes and the situation could have been saved earlier if they had acted differently. In one case, the entrepreneur was experienced and previously successful, and apparently did everything possible to advance the business, but the product was simply not appealing enough to attract a sufficient number of customers. This was clearly a situation of a deterministic reason causing the downfall of the business.

DISCUSSION

Several studies have found that entrepreneurs are generally optimists (Cooper, Woo, and Dunkelberg 1988; Taormina and Lao 2007). My study confirms this, even if the situation of the entrepreneurs surveyed here was not a positive one. It seems that the optimism of entrepreneurs is a quality that remains undiminished even in difficult times. The finding is in line with that of the Landiers and Thesmar (2009) study relating to biases in beliefs as explained partly by individual characteristics that tend to remain permanent. According to Meza and Southey (1996), most of the aspects characterizing small-scale businesses, including high failure rates, reliance on bank credit rather than equity finance, relatively low interest-rate margins, and credit rationing, can be explained by a tendency for new entrants to be dominated by

excessively optimistic types. However, Ucbasaran et al. (2010) state that experience with business failure was associated with entrepreneurs who were more optimistic. Thus, optimism is important but it should be tempered with realism.

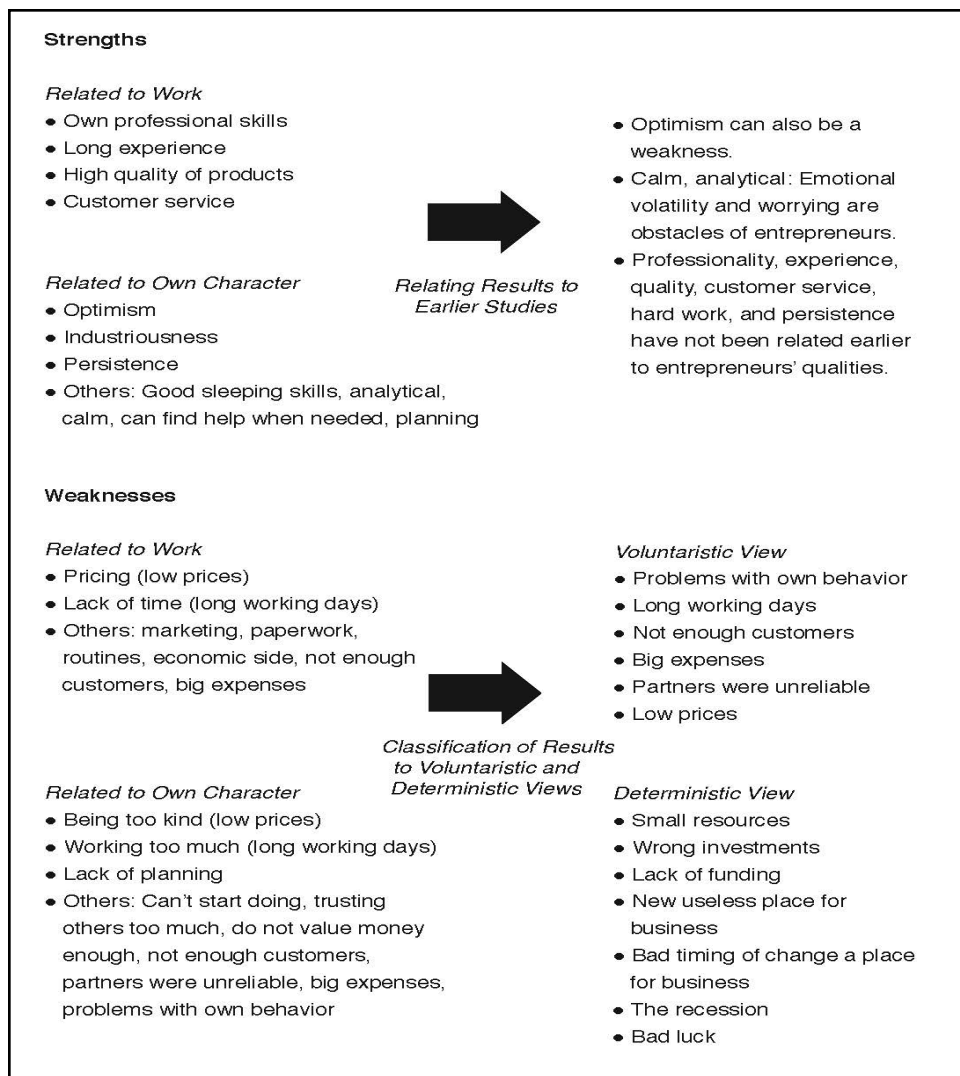


Figure 1. Strengths and Weaknesses of Finnish entrepreneurs who are in reorganization process, related to earlier studies.

McClelland (1987) noted that successful entrepreneurs are typically more assertive than “average” entrepreneurs. In my sample of entrepreneurs, many said that they were too kind. Thus, this study confirms that assertiveness is an important quality for an entrepreneur.

Cantner, Silbereisen, and Wilfling’s (2011) study of entrepreneurial failure

found that those with an agreeable personality were less likely to fail, and, in contrast, conscientiousness increased the failure rate. Agreeableness means a tendency to be compassionate and cooperative rather than suspicious and antagonistic toward others. It is also a measure of a person's trusting and helpful nature, and whether a person is generally good tempered. Agreeable people also have an optimistic view of human nature. Conscientiousness suggests a tendency to be organized and dependable, show self-discipline, act dutifully, aspire to achievement, and prefer planned to spontaneous behavior (Atkinson et al. 2000). Even if planning is important, previous studies indicate that spontaneous personalities are more inclined to pursue entrepreneurship than others (Routamaa and Miettinen 2007). It may be that too much planning will diminish the ability to adapt rapidly in changing situations, and also constrain risk-taking behavior.

Successful entrepreneurs have been defined as having an ability to take risks and to be innovative, to know how the market functions and to demonstrate expertise in manufacturing, to be proficient in marketing and business management, and to be able to cooperate (Casson 1982). Many of those qualities were not evident among the current sample of respondents. The respondents did not have enough knowledge of how their market functions (the rise of Internet shopping took them by surprise), they did not regard their marketing skills very highly, and their business management was weak in that several lacked a business attitude and demonstrated a poor level of financial calculation and planning.

To conclude, the results indicate that optimism is a prevailing factor among entrepreneurs, even among those whose businesses are in difficulty. The respondents said that their limitations included excessive kindness in addition to a lack of a commercial attitude and planning skills. However, they had several strengths in terms of their professional skills, lengthy experience, and diligence. These strengths would make them successful entrepreneurs if they could work on their weaknesses or find a more business-minded partner.

There are many reasons for the economic decline of a company, and some of the problems are the result of environmental reasons and some of an entrepreneur's own action, inaction, or behavior. Interestingly, this study of Finnish entrepreneurs does not support Headd's (2003) research in the case of lack of experience. With regard to earlier research, the closest to these results is the study by Gaskill, Van Auken, and Manning (1993), which reported that the most important reasons for the failure of an enterprise are the weak skills of its entrepreneurs, a weak external business environment, weak funding management skills, weak overall management

skills, and growth issues.

When conducting these interviews, I was surprised that most of the respondents saw their company's future very positively, even if that future was uncertain in the light of objective calculations. Also, many of those entrepreneurs had to interrupt the reorganization program and they, thus, faced bankruptcy. Even though the respondents were optimistic, some of them were very tired. They were shocked by other people's behavior when, for instance, creditors sometimes requested their payments in a very rough way. The reorganization program identified an investigator who then helped the entrepreneur with the program, and the program also took care of the creditors' interests. For some entrepreneurs, these investigators represented "saviors." They provided specialist help, and this diminished the entrepreneurs' anxiety immediately. During the interviews, respondents spoke very freely of their situations, and it felt that they were easing their burden when sharing all those hard experiences with the interviewer.

The current research has limitations, the first among which is that it gathered only business owners' thoughts on the decline of their enterprises and did not canvass other perspectives. This field would merit from more research, especially in those cases where the main reason for failure is the behavior of the owner(s). This should be analyzed more carefully in order to encourage entrepreneurs to scrutinize their own behavior and personality before starting a business. There may be some easily changeable behavior patterns that could be damaging to the whole prospective business, and new entrepreneurs would benefit from knowing about these negative traits in advance. One additional implication for nascent entrepreneurs would be the importance of giving sufficient time to tasks that might seem simple, routine, or uninteresting, such as keeping paperwork up to date and constantly monitoring finances. Successful entrepreneurs are aware that corrective action must be taken as early as possible, and it must be completed efficiently.

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PSYCHOLOGICAL CAPITAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL CAREER MOBILITY AMONG FINNISH BUSINESS SCHOOL GRADUATES

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ABSTRACT

This article studies the relationship between psychological capital and psychological career mobility through a sample of 624 Finnish business-school graduates. The findings indicate that psychological capital and its dimensions are positively related to internal and external psychological career mobility. A typology of four careerist types is defined from psychological capital and internal and external psychological career mobility dimensions through cluster analysis. The Finnish respondents could be divided into four distinct groups: Ambitious Careerist, Change-Oriented Careerist, Insecure Anti-Careerist, and Stable Career-Developer. The Ambitious Careerist demonstrated far higher levels of psychological capital than any other careerist type. At the end of the article, new insights related to psychological elements of career research are discussed.

Keywords: Psychological capital, psychological career mobility, boundaryless careers

PRACTICAL POINTS

The results will be helpful to students and career planners in enhancing their understanding of possible attitude-related strengths and of the potential obstacles they could face as they progress their careers.

In the case of human resources, mentoring, or career counseling, the relevant professionals could help employees with high capability but low

psychological capital to strengthen their attitude-based qualities and thus help them perform strongly in their work and to progress in their careers.

INTRODUCTION

Among scholars and practitioners, there is a growing interest in positive psychology. One of the viewpoints in vogue is *psychological capital*, which is formed from the constructs of self-efficacy (confidence), hope, optimism (positive contribution), and resilience in pursuit of success (Luthans, Youssef, and Avolio 2007). The term refers to internalized agency, motivation, perseverance, and success expectancies (Avey, Luthans, and Youssef 2010). The positive impact of psychological capital has been established in several studies, which indicates that psychological capital affects various elements in the life of organizations. For example, positive relationships have been shown to exist with efficiency, satisfaction, performance, and well being (Cole, Daly, and Mak 2009; Luthans, Avolio, Avey, and Norman 2007). Psychological capital also affects career-aspects such as remuneration (Goldsmith, Veum, and Darity 1997) and unemployment rates (Cole, Daly, and Mak 2009).

In recent years, the importance of career mobility has increased because of changes in business life such as layoffs, restructuring, and globalization. Similarly, the recent economic depression in Finland has forced individuals into involuntary career mobility. Although well-educated employees tend to have higher turnover intentions (Henneberger and Sousa-Poza 2007), the empirical findings by Järnlström, Nyssölä, Piekkari, and Seppälä (2014) show that highly educated Finnish employees are not very mobile in their careers. Rather than changing organizations, they seem to prefer career mobility within the organization. This contradicts the recent views in career literature (Arthur and Rousseau 1996; DeFillippi and Arthur 1994), suggesting that careers are far more flexible and multidirectional than was previously reported.

Previous research on careers has mainly concentrated on physical mobility, primarily considering career moves between employers rather than psychological mobility (Briscoe and Hall 2006; Lazarova and Taylor 2009; Sullivan and Arthur 2006). For example, Lazarova and Taylor (2009) called for more research on psychological career mobility at the individual level. Psychological career mobility as understood here refers to the individual's capacity to cross internal and external career boundaries. It is not actual physical mobility, but rather mental mobility, which describes people's capacity and preparedness for career changes. Psychologically mobile individuals spend more time searching for a job and are more often invited to a selection

interview (Vansteenkiste, Verbruggen, and Sels 2013). As a predictor of physical mobility (Verbruggen 2012), psychological mobility is worthy of scholarly attention because it is generally accepted that attitudes are reliable predictors of behaviors (Ajzen and Fishbein 1977).

The activity and roles of individuals become increasingly important as they plan future careers (Briscoe, Hall, and Frautschy DeMuth 2006; Seibert, Crant, and Kraimer 1999). Similarly, their psychological qualities will influence their careers and career choices (Eby, Butts, and Lockwood 2003; Judge, Bono, Ilies, and Gerhardt 2002). The relationship between psychological capital and psychological career mobility has attracted research interest, but not yet in Finland. Our aim is to add knowledge in this research area in the Finnish context. We assume that high levels of psychological capital relate to greater psychological career mobility (e.g., Chen and Lim 2012). We also assume that a high level of psychological capital might convince individuals of their ability to face the possible challenges of career moves, lead to positive thinking about their career options, and give them the courage to advance their careers. It might also help them to overcome disappointment if their career does not always progress as planned.

The sample of this study represents Finnish business school graduates (those who have a master's-level degree or higher), and who have been working for approximately nineteen years since obtaining their master's degree. This study assumes that these people may have a more career-oriented way of thinking than people with other educational backgrounds (e.g., vocational education for service industries, nursing, or mechanics) making it especially interesting to see whether psychological capital has an impact on their psychological career mobility.

The article first provides a review of psychological capital and presents this study's results related to work and career concepts. The second part involves the study of the relationship between these concepts with correlations and the presentation of the four-dimension model of different career types. Finally, a detailed discussion of the results of our study is provided along with a review of its limitations and avenues for future research. Thus, this article makes a unique and independent contribution to the research fields of psychological capital and career mobility through its presentation of original data.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The following two sections concentrate first on psychological capital and its dimensions and also on the concepts of the boundaryless career and psychological career mobility. Psychological capital describes people's thoughts about and attitude toward

themselves in four dimensions: optimism, resilience, self-efficacy, and hope (e.g., Luthans, Avey, Avolio, Norman, and Combs 2006). The boundaryless career means that employees move with ease within or between organizations, both vertically and horizontally (Briscoe, Hall, and DeMuth 2006; Lazarova and Taylor 2009). In order to retain the richness of the original concept of a boundaryless career (Arthur and Rousseau 1996), Lazarova and Taylor (2009) introduced their own typology, which distinguishes *the attitudes* to boundary crossing (i.e., psychological mobility) and actual boundary-crossing *behaviors* (i.e., physical mobility). In this paper, we focus on the latter, and therefore we study the relationship between psychological capital and psychological career mobility in the Finnish context.

Psychological Capital

The quality of working life and individuals' attitudes toward it have recently attracted considerable research attention. This attention includes the interest in positive psychology as championed by Seligman (1998). Psychological capital illustrates individuals' positive capacity in the components of optimism (Carver and Scheier 2003; Scheier and Carver 1985), resilience (Masten and Reed 2002), self-efficacy (Bandura 1997), and hope (Snyder, Irving, and Anderson 1991; Snyder, Rand, and Sigmon 2002). It is not regarded as an immutable trait, because it can be developed (Luthans et al. 2006). Although the four psychological capital dimensions have each garnered research attention in the literature, the four constructs (self-efficacy, hope, optimism, and resilience) together form a resource that exists at a higher level of abstraction (Stajkovic 2006). These dimensions of psychological capital are addressed in the paragraphs below.

Self-efficacy refers to people's confidence in their ability to summon motivational and cognitive resources and to follow the course of action needed to successfully execute a specific task in a given context (Luthans and Youssef 2004). Of the four concepts, self-efficacy is the one that is well structured from both theoretical and practical standpoints. In fact, it is deeply rooted in Bandura's (1997) human social cognition theories. Lent, Brown, and Hackett (1994) also studied self-efficacy as part of the SCCT-model (Social Cognitive Career Theory model). They claimed that self-efficacy is a central mechanism of career development. Individuals with high levels of self-efficacy belief set higher goals for themselves, put in more effort, and persist longer with a difficult task (Bandura 1997). Empirical evidence shows that self-efficacy affects task- and job-performance (e.g., Chen, Goddard, and Casper 2004), work engagement (Bakker, Schaufeli, Leiter, and Taris 2008), the early phases

of an individual's career choice (Betz and Hackett 2006), and career success (Abele and Spurk 2009).

The approach to the *hope* construct follows Snyder's theory and research that defines it as "a positive motivational state that is based on an interactively derived sense of successful agency (goal-directed energy) and pathways (planning to meet goals)" (Snyder, Irving, and Anderson 1991, 287). Agency is defined as the perceived determination to use all available means to reach desired goals (Snyder 1994; Tong, Fredrickson, Chang, and Lim 2010). Agency is conceptually related to self-efficacy (Bandura 1997); however, self-efficacy is a situation-specific evaluation that an individual can follow a specific course of action successfully, while agency is the perception that an individual will carry out goal-directed action targeting a wider range of goals (Snyder and Lopez 2009). Pathways are defined as the self-perceived ability to generate the means to reach desired goals or the ability to find alternative pathways when necessary (Snyder 1994; Tong et al. 2010). People engage in pathways thinking when they actively construct routes or make plans to achieve goals. Empirical studies show that hope promotes resilience, persistence, well being, mental health (Gallagher and Lopez 2009), and performance (Luthans, Avolio, Walumbwa, and Li 2005).

Optimism is claimed to be an explanatory style that attributes positive events to personal, permanent, and pervasive causes and interprets negative events in terms of external, temporary, and situation-specific factors (Seligman 1998). Optimism is based on two theories of optimism: the dispositional model (Scheier and Carver 1992) and the explanatory style model (Seligman 1998). *Dispositional optimism* is defined as a stable expectancy that good things will happen in life (Scheier and Carver 1992) and general beliefs about self-efficacy (Karademas 2006). It relates to the self-regulatory model of goal-seeking behavior, which examines how outcome expectancies affect goal-setting behaviors such as those required to achieve career outcomes. The *explanatory style model* (Seligman 1998) is a style of explaining negative events. In short, an optimistic explanatory style is the tendency to explain problems as having specific, temporary, and external causes. Conversely, a person with a pessimistic explanatory style is likely to cite global (non-specific), long-lasting, and internal causes of negative situations (Seligman 1995).

Optimism, whether demonstrated in the form of a positive outlook or an explanation of a negative situation, leads to positive emotions, motivation, and a commitment to achieve work-related goals (Luthans, Youssef, and Avolio 2007). It strongly influences the development of subjective-success constructs such as career

satisfaction (ibid. 2007), happiness, emotional and physical well being (Augusto-Landa, Pulido-Martos, and Lopez-Zafra 2011), and work engagement (Bakker et al. 2008). It has also been reported to have an impact on performance (Luthans et al. 2005). In fact, several researchers have noted the potential benefits conferred by optimism for people establishing career plans (Creed, Patton, and Bartrum 2002; Lucas and Wanberg 1995).

Resilience was initially defined as the capacity to rebound from adversity, conflict, and failure, but the definition was subsequently widened to include the reaction even to apparently positive and challenging events, like progress and increased responsibility (Luthans 2002; Luthans and Youssef 2004). Resilience may be a process as well as an outcome (Holaday and McPhearson 1997). Hence, it is something that demands constant effort in challenging situations. Research findings have shown that resilience results from an optimistic explanatory style (Seligman 1995, 2011). In addition, Luthans, Youssef, and Avolio (2007) highlight the connection between resilience and both dispositional and explanatory style optimism in predicting work performance and satisfaction. Career resilience is frequently discussed in vocational behavior literature. According to Holaday and McPhearson (1997), career resilience is exemplified in the ways people cope with the everyday stresses of working life, and the study concludes that self-efficacy, hope, and optimism in particular are related to work, while self-efficacy and optimism relate to career and career choices.

Psychological capital as a resource is more powerful than its dimensions alone (Luthans, Avolio, Walumbwa, and Li 2005). Scholars have examined the concept of psychological capital and established that it has many positive impacts, for example, on individuals' satisfaction, performance, and commitment, and whether they thrive at work. For example, the findings by Walumbwa, Peterson, Avolio, and Hartnell (2010) show that a leader's psychological capital relates positively to follower performance mediated by follower psychological capital. According to Paterson, Luthans, and Jeung (2013), psychological capital results in significantly higher levels of agentic work behaviors. Luthans, Norman, Avolio, and Avey (2008) suggest that employees' psychological capital mediates the relationship between a supportive climate and the employees' performance. It even has an impact on an individual's real wage (Goldsmith, Veum, and Darity 1997). Cole, Daly, and Mak (2009) found that psychological capital had a partial mediating effect on employment status and well being, and that individuals with lower levels of psychological capital were at greater risk of being unemployed. Most of these studies have

been cross-sectional, but longitudinal data have also provided support for a causal relationship between psychological capital and performance, rather than vice versa (Peterson, Luthans, Avolio, Walumbwa, and Zhang 2011).

The Boundaryless Career and Psychological Career Mobility

Boundaryless careers are divided theoretically into those relating to physical career mobility and those characterized by psychological mobility (Sullivan and Arthur 2006). *Physical career mobility* refers to actual physical career mobility (e.g., job change, organization change, geographical change), whereas *psychological career mobility* refers to an individual's attitudes and capacity for future career moves, that is, the individual's capacity to cross internal and external career boundaries (see Arthur, Khapova, and Wilderom 2005; Sullivan and Arthur 2006), but it does not involve an actual job change. We expect psychological career mobility to be even more important than physical mobility because recent findings by Verbruggen (2012) indicate that psychological career mobility is positively related to physical career mobility. As such, Verbruggen's findings offer support for the idea that attitudes are reliable predictors of behaviors (Ajzen and Fishbein 1977).

To date, psychological career mobility has received less research attention than physical career mobility, which may be a result of the unclear concepts, meanings, and measures attributed to the latter (Sullivan and Baruch 2009). However, Forret, Sullivan, and Mainiero (2010) called for greater research focus on psychological career mobility than on physical mobility, and for the development of its operationalization. In line with recent research (Forrier, Sels, and Stynen 2009; Forret, Sullivan, and Mainiero 2010; Itani, Järnlström, and Piekkari 2015; Vansteenkiste, Verbruggen, and Sels 2013; Verbruggen 2012), we intend to improve the knowledge of this research area.

Although some years have passed since Lazarova and Taylor (2009) separated internal and external psychological mobility, with the exception of the work of Itani, Järnlström, and Piekkari (2015), the two variants have not yet been studied empirically. An internal psychological career refers here to the capability and desire to be mobile within the boundaries of a single organization. An external psychological career refers here to the capability and desire for organizational mobility.

The boundaryless career literature refers to a career driven by the person, not the organization (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996; Briscoe, Hall, and Frautschy DeMuth 2006). Increased agency over their career indicates that individuals take responsibility, make their own career choices, and have a personal perception of career opportunities (Hall 2002). According to Eby, Butts, and Lockwood (2003), those

employees who are proactive, flexible, open to new experiences, and understanding of personal strengths and weaknesses tend to manage better in today's workplace than people lacking those personal characteristics. Similarly, Forret and Dougherty (2001) found that individuals who scored higher in extraversion and self-esteem were more likely to engage in networking behaviors, which should help them navigate non-traditional careers. Forrier, Sels, and Stynen (2009) discuss movement capital, in which they include human capital, social capital, self-awareness, and adaptability. Similarly, psychological qualities such as extraversion and openness to experience have been related to both internal and external upward mobility (Judge et al. 2002). Sullivan and Arthur (2006) argued that career competences, gender, cultural background, and individual differences could be potential predictors of psychological career mobility. Recent empirical findings by Itani, Järleström, and Piekkari (2015) support the idea of career competences as a predictor of psychological career mobility. In that last research, the respondents who possessed the best language skills also demonstrated the highest levels of career mobility, both psychological and physical.

Most literature on boundaryless careers seems to concentrate on the individual's own responsibility and voluntary transitions, but the approach has not escaped criticism. Critics argue that it is only applicable to a minority of cases (Pringle and Mallon 2003) and does not sufficiently address career effects for people with limited skills to market (Inkson, Roper, and Ganesh 2008). Furthermore, some European career researchers have questioned the strong emphasis placed on individual agency and free choice of careers on the grounds that there are structural restrictions that influence career behavior (e.g., Arnold and Cohen 2008; Dany 2003; Mayrhofer, Meyer, and Steyrer 2007). Our study adopts a similar line and illustrates that individual differences can influence psychological career mobility.

As shown above, to be able to access career opportunities, individuals need resources, which determine the opportunities for career mobility. Hence, we argue that those individuals with a high level of psychological capital are more open to and have more positive feelings about pursuing both internal and external career routes to their goals. Psychological capital is associated with flexibility and adaptability, which are particularly useful resources in the current unpredictable career environment (Sullivan and Arthur 2006; Sullivan and Baruch 2009). Individuals with high levels of psychological capital may sustain strong expectations of their own employability or may seek personal growth outside the workplace. Based on the agency approach within the area of boundaryless careers, those with high levels of

psychological capital may actively pursue career choices in line with their intrinsic interests (Baruch 2006; Chen and Lim 2012; Zacher 2014). In contrast, those individuals who restrict their career options tend to have fewer psychological resources, more negative feelings, and a lower level of psychological capital.

DATA AND METHODS

The following sections report how we collected data from Finnish business school graduates and what kinds of measures were used in the subsequent analysis.

Data Collection

Data were collected through an Internet survey in the spring of 2011. The survey was developed and translated by scholars of the University of Vaasa and Aalto University, and it included several sub-themes, such as career attitudes, language competence, job and career satisfaction, psychological capital (PsyCap), and career mobility. The survey was carried out in cooperation with the Finnish union that represents qualified Finnish business school graduates (The Finnish Association of Business School Graduates, SEFE) and used its member contact information register. The survey questionnaire was created based on existing measures. SEFE sent an e-mail invitation (in Finnish and Swedish) to a sample of 3,500 of its members. Of the group selected, 15 percent were Swedish-speaking, as that percentage equals the proportion in the entire body of membership. The self-employed were excluded from the sample because they were not the target of this research. The e-mail invitation included direct links to both language versions of the questionnaire. A reminder message was sent approximately two weeks after the first invitation. A total of 629 surveys were returned, giving a response rate of 18 percent. Five cases were rejected for being unrepresentative (the subjects were unemployed at the time) but the remaining 624 cases were accepted for further analysis.

The majority of the respondents were Finnish speakers (85 percent). More than half of the sample were women (60.4 percent), and the average age was 44 (s.d. = 10.5). The majority of respondents (46.0 percent) had families with young or school-age children; 37.5 percent of the sample had a spouse, and the remainder of the respondents were single (17.5 percent). The average length of work experience was nineteen years, and the major positions represented were middle management and experts (e.g., Human Resources [HR] professionals).

Measures

Below we explain how the measures of psychological career mobility and psychological capital were formulated. Both questionnaires were analyzed with principal

component factoring with Varimax rotation. Factor analyses are used to simplify the expression of many items that measure the same thing to present just a few major items (Kline 1994). Varimax is probably the most popular rotation method. For Varimax, a simple solution means that each factor has a small number of large loadings and a large number of zero (or small) loadings. This simplifies the interpretation because each original variable tends to be associated with one of the factors, and each factor represents only a small number of variables (Abdi 2003).

After setting the factors, their reliability was tested with Cronbach alpha-analysis. Cronbach's alpha will generally increase as the intercorrelations among test items increase, and it is thus known as an internal consistency estimate of the reliability of test scores. Because intercorrelations among test items are maximized when all items measure the same construct, it is widely believed to indirectly indicate the degree to which a set of items measures a single unidimensional latent construct. A commonly accepted rule of thumb for describing acceptable internal consistency is a score of 0.7 or higher (George and Mallery 2003).

Psychological career mobility was measured with twelve items adopted and modified from a study by De Vos, Dewettinck, and Buyens (2008). A similar type of measure was used recently by Itani, Järnlström, and Piekari (2015). The items refer to preparedness for career mobility and the willingness to pursue it either in the current organization (internal psychological mobility) or outside it (external psychological mobility). Answers were given on a 7-point Likert scale, anchored with *totally disagree* (1) and *totally agree* (7). Principal component factoring with Varimax rotation was performed to ensure the validity of the psychological career mobility dimensions. There were two different types of mobility identified: internal and external mobility. Here, internal mobility means both vertical and horizontal mobility within the current organization, whereas external mobility refers to vertical and horizontal mobility either outside the current organization or within a subsidiary abroad. *Internal psychological mobility* was measured with four items that included the following: "I have a strong ability to develop my career horizontally in my current organization," and "I prefer developing my career horizontally in my current organization." The Cronbach's alpha-coefficient of this factor was 0.743. *External psychological mobility* was measured with eight items that included the following: "I have good abilities to develop my career vertically outside my current organization," and "I prefer to develop my career horizontally outside my current organization." The Cronbach's alpha was 0.847.

Psychological capital was measured with 12 items, which describe the four

relevant dimensions of psychological capital: hope, optimism, resilience, and self-esteem. Responses were placed on a 7-point Likert scale, anchored with *totally disagree* (1) and *totally agree* (7). The psychological capital questionnaire was modified from that of Luthans et al. (2007). Again, principal component factoring with Varimax rotation was conducted to ensure the validity of the psychological capital dimensions. Hope was measured with three items, including "At this moment I am achieving those goals I have set." The Cronbach's alpha of this scale was 0.833. Optimism was measured with measures such as "I am optimistic about my future," and the Cronbach's alpha of this scale was 0.829. Third, resilience was measured with three items, including "I recover from disappointments at work quickly." The Cronbach's alpha of this scale was 0.770. Finally, self-efficacy was measured with four items, including "I trust my skills even in challenging situations." The Cronbach's alpha of this final scale was 0.798.

Analysis

After principal component factoring with Varimax rotation component analysis, the results were acquired with correlation and cluster analysis. The first step was to conduct correlation analysis to determine the relation of psychological capital to psychological and physical career mobility. Correlation can refer to any departure of two or more random variables from independence, but technically it refers to any of several more specialized types of relationship between mean values (Dowdy and Wearden 1983). Cluster analysis or clustering is the task of grouping a set of objects in such a way that objects in the same group (cluster) are more similar to each other than to those in other groups. Typical cluster models include centroid models (i.e., the *k*-means algorithm), which represent each cluster by a single mean vector (Everitt 2011). We conducted *k*-means cluster analysis to investigate the applicability of a four-quadrant model and revealed how psychological career mobility (internal mobility and external mobility) related to psychological capital. The cluster analysis led to individuals being assigned to one of four groups, and subsequent analysis was conducted on those four groups.

Differences in psychological capital, psychological career mobility, and physical career mobility were tested using one-way analysis of variance modeling procedures. One-way analysis of variance (one-way ANOVA) is a technique used to compare means of three or more samples. The ANOVA produces an F-statistic, the ratio of the variance calculated among the means to the variance within the samples. If the group means are drawn from populations with the same mean values, the variance

between the group means should be lower than the variance of the samples, following the central limit theorem. A higher ratio therefore implies that the samples were drawn from populations with different mean values (Howell 2013). Following the ANOVA test, post-hoc tests were conducted with Tukey's Studentized Range Test in order to discover the intrinsic differences between groups. In the post-hoc analysis we had a choice between using either Tukey's range test or Duncan's new multiple range test because both are intended to analyze normally distributed data. They can be used as post-hoc analyses to test which of two groups' means there is a significant difference between (pairwise comparisons) (Howell 2013).

RESULTS

Means, standard deviations, and correlations between the measures are presented in Table 1.

With regard to psychological mobility, correlation analysis indicated that psychological capital and all its dimensions are statistically significantly related to psychological career mobility, both external and internal forms of psychological mobility. The higher the level of psychological capital, the greater will be the psychological career mobility.

Further investigation tested whether cluster analysis would reveal four distinct groups representing the four psychological career types, and how psychological capital relates specifically to different types of psychological career mobility (Table 2). Aggregate measures of internal and external career mobility were taken to conduct a *k*-means cluster analysis. This resulted in four clusters representing the following groups: (1) The first cluster has respondents with high internal career mobility (mean: 5.33) and high external career mobility (mean: 5.05). The mean of psychological capital is highest here (5.52) compared to other clusters. It covers 26.5 percent of the sample and is labeled *Ambitious Careerist*. (2) The second cluster represents 9.0 percent of the sample, having low internal career mobility (mean: 2.41) and high external career mobility (mean 5.31). The mean of psychological capital is the second highest (5.12) here. This is the least popular cluster and is labeled *Change-Oriented Careerist*. (3) The third cluster covers 28.0 percent of the sample and shows low internal career mobility (mean 2.68) and also low external career mobility (mean: 3.15). The psychological capital was lowest here (mean 4.88). This cluster is labeled *Insecure Anti-Careerist*. The final cluster has internal career mobility at a high level (mean 4.83) and external career mobility as low (mean: 3.30). The psychological capital was second lowest and represents 36.5 percent of the sample.

Variable	Mean (s.d)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Psychological capital	4.73 (0.78)	1.00						
2. Hope	4.69 (1.20)	.732**	1.00					
3. Optimism	5.42 (1.07)	.738**	.519**	1.00				
4. Resilience	4.80 (1.12)	.834**	.447**	.537**	1.00			
5. Self-efficacy	5.57 (0.94)	.855**	.506**	.477**	.598**	1.00		
6. Internal Psychological Mobility	4.14 (1.44)	.216**	.290**	.194**	.106**	.049	1.00	
7. External Psychological Mobility	3.90 (1.19)	.337**	.245**	.168**	.236**	.147**	.229**	1.00

Table 1. Correlation Analyses. Note: The numbers in the parentheses represent the standard deviation for that item. The preceding number is the mean for that item.
** p<.01.

<i>Internal Mobility High</i>	4. Internal High/External Low N=228, 36.5% <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internal, mean: 4.83 • External, mean: 3.30 Psychological capital, mean: 5.01 “Stable Career-Developer”	1. Internal High/External High N=165, 26.5% <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internal, mean: 5.33 • External, mean: 5.05 Psychological capital, mean: 5.52 “Ambitious Careerist”
<i>Internal Mobility Low</i>	3. Internal Low/External Low N=175, 28.0% <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internal, mean: 2.68 • External, mean: 3.15 Psychological capital, mean: 4.88 “Insecure Anti-Careerist”	2. Internal Low/External High N=56, 9.0% <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internal, mean: 2.41 • External, mean: 5.31 Psychological capital, mean: 5.12 “Change-Oriented Careerist”
	<i>External Mobility Low</i>	<i>External Mobility High</i>

Table 2. K-Means Cluster Analysis.

This is the largest cluster and is labeled *Stable Career-Developer*. All the respondents could be classified into one of the four clusters.

Table 3 presents the results of the ANOVA analyses. The relationship between psychological capital and the clusters was examined with the ANOVA. Psychological capital and all its dimensions recorded the highest means in cluster 1, *Ambitious Careerist*, and the lowest in cluster 3, *Insecure Anti-Careerist*, excluding resilience. The clusters differed statistically from one another. Psychological capital and its dimensions were significantly higher for *Ambitious Careerists* than for *Insecure Anti-Careerists* and *Stable Career-Developers*. Additionally, *Ambitious Careerists* recorded significantly higher values of hope, resilience, and total psychological capital than *Change-Oriented Careerists* did. *Stable Career-Developers* had significantly higher levels of hope than did *Insecure Anti-Careerists*. Hope was the most differentiated factor in the

	PsyCap	Hope	Optimism	Resilience	Self-Efficacy
1. Mutual High Career Mobility "Ambitious Careerist"	5.52 (0.69)	5.17 (0.98)	5.72 (0.89)	5.23 (0.96)	5.96 (0.76)
3. Mutual Low Career Mobility "Insecure Anti-Careerist"	4.88 (0.87)	4.25 (1.22)	5.24 (1.11)	4.65 (1.22)	4.88 (0.87)
4. Internal Career Mobility High, External High "Stable Career-Developer"	5.01 (0.85)	4.69 (1.16)	5.36 (1.07)	4.58 (1.05)	5.01 (0.85)
2. External Career Mobility High, Internal Low "Change-Oriented Careerists"	5.12 (0.92)	4.64 (1.37)	5.33 (1.20)	4.79 (1.20)	5.12 (0.92)
F-value	19.36***	18.24***	6.50***	12.75***	16.09***
Significant Comparisons	1>2,3,4	1>2,3,4 4>3	1>3,4	1>2,3,4	1>3,4

Table 3. Analysis of Variance Results Comparing Psychological Capital and Psychological Mobility Types.

Note: F = variation between sample means / variation within the samples.
Multiple comparisons were computed with Tukey's Studentized Range (HSD) Test.
** p<0.01, ***p<0.001.

effect on psychological career mobility, although all factors did have a considerable impact.

DISCUSSION

The results of the study revealed the significant relationship between psychological capital and psychological career mobility among Finnish business school graduates. More specifically, all the dimensions of psychological capital—hope, optimism, resilience, and self-efficacy—were related to psychological career mobility. Earlier studies indicate that self-efficacy and optimism in particular are career-related issues (Abele and Spruk 2009; Betz and Hackett 2006; Creed, Patton, and Bartrum 2002; Lucas and Wanberg 1995). The present study contributes to this research stream by showing that psychological capital and all its dimensions are statistically related to

psychological career mobility. Hence, the results support the idea that psychological capital is associated with boundaryless career-related attitudes.

The clusters analyzed formed a four-group typology of psychological career mobility: *Ambitious Careerist*, *Insecure Anti-Careerist*, *Stable Career-Developer*, and *Change-Oriented Careerist* groups. These empirical findings were consistent with the literature contending that psychological mobility can be meaningfully conceptualized as internal and external continua. Therefore, the findings strongly support recent theorizing around boundaryless careers (Sullivan and Arthur 2006; Lazarova and Taylor 2009).

This study showed that a surprisingly high proportion of business school graduates can be described as *Insecure Anti-Careerists*. Mitchell, Holtom, Lee, Sablinski, and Erez (2001) proposed a construct they termed job embeddedness that explains why people do not switch employers. Some reported that the reasons for staying are greater job security and employment stability (Ng, Butts, Vandenberg, Dejoy, and Wilson, 2006), in addition to older age (Blomme, Van Rheede, and Tromp 2010). According to the current study, low psychological capital may also be one of the reasons behind job embeddedness. In other words, a deficit of psychological capital may create a desire for enhanced job security and encourage the avoidance of the risks inherent in changing careers. The Finns included in the sample might be expected to be more progressive in their careers and have more belief in their skills than, for example, people in a more practical field, such as nurses. It would be interesting to compare psychological career mobility in different fields and also different disciplines within higher education. However, one reason for this condition may be Finnish culture. It may be that Finns are more modest than other nationalities, a supposition that is backed by earlier studies indicating that Finnish people have lower psychological capital than people from Portugal and Bulgaria (Brandt, Gomes, and Boyanova 2011). It seems that the low psychological capital of the *Insecure Anti-Careerists* may have persuaded them that their opportunities to leave their employer are limited and that they lack the skills necessary to manage new work challenges. More qualitative research on this group would be necessary to explain this connection.

Some studies indicate that national culture is important to boundaryless careers (e.g., Dany 2003). Although the findings here suggest that Finnish economic and cultural elements support boundaryless careers to some extent, the findings of physical career mobility among highly educated Finnish graduates offer less support for the notion of boundaryless careers (see Järnlström et al. 2014). However,

if individuals take positive steps to advance their careers, they can face barriers triggered by their career history, occupational identity, or institutional constraints (King, Burke, and Pemberton 2005). Similarly, our findings support the idea that individual differences affect psychological career mobility (see Sullivan and Arthur 2006). The level of individuals' psychological capital either increases or inhibits their potential career options. Although our sample involved highly educated people, they differed in their career possibilities: some of these highly educated people were more positive toward their career mobility chances than others. Therefore, our main findings are in line with some of the European career researchers, who have questioned the strong emphasis placed on individual agency and free choice in boundaryless careers (see Arnold and Cohen 2008; Dany 2003; Mayrhofer, Meyer, and Steyrer 2007). Hence, the findings of the current research suggest that it is logical to conclude that psychological capital has a positive effect on future career mobility capabilities. The present study also updates the list of possible predictors of psychological career mobility (Sullivan and Arthur 2006; Itani, Järnlström, and Piekkari 2015).

The boundaryless career literature seems to suggest that career mobility is always a positive issue and that it increases career success (Forrier, Sels, and Stynen 2009). Nevertheless, we recognize the possibility that a high level of psychological capital combined with a high level of psychological career mobility could have negative implications for both an individual and an employer. A person may be less committed and, for example, may experience high levels of stress because of a possible career transition within the organization or outside of it. Although organizational change may encompass positive issues such as better person-organization fit (e.g., better fit of skills), it may also be a risky investment in a person's career because accrued benefits can be lost. Likewise, actual external career mobility, a possible consequence of external psychological career mobility (Verbruggen 2012), can be unattractive to an employer because that employer may suffer from the loss of competencies and incurs recruitment or re-training costs (see Bothma and Roodt 2013).

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS, LIMITATIONS, AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Our findings showed that some highly educated employees seem to have a so-called bounded career (King, Burke, and Pemberton 2005), which means that they do not seem to have the capacity or the preparedness for internal or external mobility. It would be important to somehow enrich their jobs at their work places, for example

through mentoring, in order to sustain their levels of motivation. Mentoring is related to the career success of both mentees and mentors (Allen, Lentz, and Day 2006).

Reasons for a lack of enthusiasm for mobility can include the facts that employees are happy in their current jobs, their life-situations are not conducive to a move (too much stress or problems with relocating), or that they are no longer young. On the other hand, it may be that those people with low psychological capital and low internal and external career mobility are those described as alienated in the career literature. Alienation from work can be defined as a sense of separation or estrangement extending to the self-image (personal alienation) and people's social relationships (social alienation) (Chiaburu, Diaz, and De Vos 2013). Chiaburu, Diaz, and De Vos (2013) have argued that individuals who feel disconnected or alienated from their work might have lower levels of career motivation or self-management, which will ultimately hinder success in career terms. Alienation can have negative consequences for both individuals and organizations (e.g., Hirschfeld and Feild 2000). It may be that psychological capital is one of the reasons for alienation because it is connected to an individual's self-image.

Insecure Anti-Careerists could benefit from support or coaching to release their potential. It has been argued that individuals' psychological capital could be developed by their leaders, and in the case of this group, it would be an approach worth trying. For example, an employee's efficacy could be developed through persuasion and encouragement from supportive leaders (Bandura 1997; Wood and Bandura 1989). Hope, agency, and pathways thinking can be developed through systematic attention, mentoring, and feedback from leaders (Yammarino and Dubinsky 1990). Individuals' optimism about their careers is likely to be enhanced by working with a leader they can trust and who they believe takes a personal interest in them (Yammarino and Dubinsky 1992). Finally, a high-quality relationship with a leader is likely to enhance resilience as well (Masten 2001; Masten and Reed 2002).

The present study has some limitations that should be noted. The first restriction relates to its cross-sectional data. This partly restricts the ability to interpret the results relating to psychological capital and career mobility. Further research using a longitudinal design might unravel the causal relationships between psychological capital and psychological career mobility. On a connected note, the single method of data collection might mean that common method bias could have influenced the correlations between variables. While we acknowledge the possibility of common method bias, it seems to be a frequently cited limitation of survey research

(Spector 2006). Common method bias should account for significant correlations among variables measured via a single method (Spector 2006). Our analysis showed that some of the variables did not correlate at all (see Table 1). Even where we found a statistical significance between variables, the correlation was quite low, excluding psychological capital and its dimensions. The sample did, however, include both men and women from different age groups, branches, and organizations. Harman's one-factor test was used to test for common method variance by including the variables of the study in an unrotated factor analysis (Podsakoff and Organ 1986). The results broke down into several factors, offering some evidence against the presence of method variance issues with the data. Hence, common method bias seems unlikely to have affected the results.

The second restriction relates to the response rate of the study, which limits the ability to generalize the results to those who did not respond to the questionnaire. However, the response rate seems adequate for a survey study, and the sample size seems to be sufficient for purpose.

The third restriction relates to measures and analysis. Some career mobility directions were not covered in the present study. In line with Lazarova and Taylor (2009) and Forret, Sullivan, and Mainiero (2010), we view the further development of the psychological career mobility measure as an important aim. Finally, we also recognize the limitations of the analysis. The choice of cluster analysis can be criticized on methodological grounds, and accordingly we would welcome future research that attempts to replicate the results. Gender and age could have an impact on both psychological capital and career mobility, which should be taken into account in further studies (e.g., Forret, Sullivan, and Mainiero 2010). Even so, the results are promising for future research in this area.

Overall, the Finnish sample may differ from samples from other countries. Finnish people have recorded lower psychological capital dimensions than Bulgarian and Portuguese people (Brandt, Gomes, and Boyanova 2011), but more comparative studies would be required to reveal the relations between samples from different countries. It would be worth studying whether psychological capital can diminish (or grow) over the course of an individual's career. Several disappointments experienced in the course of a career may diminish psychological capital. Moreover, people from other educational backgrounds could be studied, and it would also be worth studying how successful the different groups are in their current careers. Both objective and subjective career success could be covered.

In conclusion, we have explored the relationship between psychological capital and the career mobility of Finnish business school graduates. Our research suggests that this relationship is relevant. We conclude that career mobility is strongly connected to career resources or capital, and psychological capital seems to be strongly related to psychological career mobility. This study broadens the research area of psychological capital, and these results are a logical extension of earlier results indicating that psychological capital affects an individual's performance (Luthans et al. 2005), wage (Goldsmith, Veum, and Darity 1997), and status (Cole, Daly, and Mak 2009). While more research is certainly warranted, the current study from Finland provides a starting point for scholars interested in this research area.

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STORIES OF ENGAGEMENT WITHIN FINNISH GENERATION Y

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ABSTRACT

This is among the first studies to examine Finnish Generation Y. The purpose of this qualitative study is to examine Finnish Millennials' work engagement by analyzing their perceptions of motivational factors at work. The article also compares those perceptions on the part of working and non-working Millennials. The method of empathy-based stories (MEBS), developed by Jari Eskola, a Finnish sociologist, was adopted in collecting the data via social media (Facebook). The findings are in line with previous studies that have addressed Millennials' preferences in their working life, for example, work environment, social connections, job content, and flexibility. Non-working Millennials mentioned more clearly either vigor or dedication concerning the elements of work engagement, whereas the stories from working Millennials were mixed between these two dimensions of engagement, namely vigor and dedication. Thus, the perceptions of work engagement might differ depending on the work situation. In addition to using an innovative data-collection process in terms of harnessing social media and utilizing a relatively rarely used method in the business field, the study provides new insights through its examination of Generation Y. The paper suggests that Generation Y should not be viewed as a homogenous group, and future studies should concentrate on the possible distinctions among Millennials.

Keywords: Generation Y, engagement, motivation at work, Finland

INTRODUCTION

Working life has undergone major shifts in recent years in Finland as well as in Europe as a whole, and these shifts seem likely to continue to exert an influence

in the coming years. For example, mass retirements and the impact of an aging workforce will cause inevitable demographic changes (Eurostat 2015), and, as a consequence, there could be more people not involved in working life (e.g., retired) than actually working in the near future (Tiainen 2012). In addition, the demographics of working life will change as the relative proportion of young employees, namely Generation Y, will increase. In fact, it is estimated that by 2020, as much as 45 percent of the workforce worldwide will comprise members of Generation Y (Erickson 2008), and the same is predicted for Finland (Alasoini 2010). The proportion is noteworthy because in Finland as recently as in 2010, only 20 percent of the workforce was from Generation Y (Alasoini 2010). Thus, understanding the Finnish Generation Y is very important to understanding working life as a whole in Finland.

Much of the recent research has been conducted in the USA (see, e.g., the meta-analysis by Costanza et al. 2012), and there are concerns that cultural and national differences exist in the generational setting (Giancola 2006). This implies that it is important to pay close attention to Generation Y on a national level. Although Finnish studies on Generation Y are rare, there are some interesting examples. According to Alasoini (2010), the Finnish Generation Y is exceptionally highly educated and routinely uses web-based technologies. The Finnish Millennials' high education level means that they are both willing and keen to utilize their acquired skills in working life. However, Alasoini also notes that the Finnish Generation Y has fears and doubts relating to working life, as well as worries about coping.

However, another Finnish study casts doubt on the existence of Generation Y overall. Pyöriä et al. (2013) found no differences between Finnish generations regarding work values. Work values overall are said to be an important characteristic of generations (see Smola and Sutton 2002). Pyöriä et al. (2013) also concluded that the distinctive features attributed to Generation Y are exaggerated. However, they admit that Generation Y is better than its reputation would suggest in terms of not being as difficult and challenging—that is, demanding or selfish—as has sometimes been proposed.

In this study, the aim is not to examine whether Generation Y exists or not, or whether it is different from other generations. Instead, this study accepts that the concept of Generation Y is institutionalized to some extent (see Berger and Luckmann 1967), and is a hot topic in public discussion, the media, and research. Thus, the concept is built on the communication between people and is a result of this interaction.

Although it is difficult to show and verify the differences between generations because of the inevitable effect of age (that is, one might claim that younger people have always been challenging and different compared to previous generations), the view that Generation Y does possess special characteristics has gained support (e.g., Solnet, Kralj, and Kandampully 2012; Furnham, Eracleous, and Chamorro-Premuzic 2009; Wong et al. 2008). This study concentrates on understanding the phenomenon of Generation Y in Finnish working life. The study also questions whether Generation Y is as coherent a group as has been proposed and assumed (see, e.g., Macky, Gardner, and Forsyth 2008; Loughlin and Barling 2001). Thus, the aim of this study is to seek to examine the Finnish Generation Y's perceptions of working life and also to extend the understanding of its views from a human resource management (HRM) perspective.

Overall, a lot of employees in Finland are retiring, and they are being replaced with younger employees. This trend seems similar in other European countries as well and seems likely to result in labor shortages and an increased amount of recruitment (Christensen Hughes and Rog 2008). However, organizations already face difficulty in finding suitable strategies to recruit and retain employees (Ito, Brotheridge, and McFarland 2013), and there are signs that workers' interest in lifelong jobs is declining (Baruch 2004). Furthermore, research suggests that Generation Y might be less willing than their predecessors to engage themselves with their employer, and they can be, for example, more willing to change place of work, look for other job opportunities, or feel less committed to their employer (Solnet, Kralj, and Kandampully 2012).

Human resource management (HRM) will face the effects of the major shifts in the employment environment (Bakker, Albrecht, and Leiter 2011), and an age-diverse workforce will challenge HRM to change its role. For example, HRM will be required to show initiative to promote diversity in the organization and cater to the issues it generates (Ryan and Wessel 2015). In fact, Generation Y is, according to Shih and Allen (2007), an important employee group that has an effect on working life. Additionally, because of the intense "war for talent" (Michaels, Handfield-Jones, and Axelrod 2001) and changing motivational constructs that attract, retain, and engage Generation Y in comparison to older employees (Amar 2004), organizations and especially the HRM function will increasingly have to invest in both attracting new employees from schools and also in retaining those already recruited—that is, Generation Y (e.g., Lub et al. 2012; Shacklock and Brunetto 2012). An important

element to executing HRM policy in this respect will be the immediate supervisor (Bos-Nehles, Van Riemsdijk, and Looise 2013).

Research during the last decade or so has recognized characteristics specific to Generation Y. For example, according to these studies, Generation Y appreciates social activities and a pleasant atmosphere at work, and the meaning of the work environment could be greater than it was for other generations (Gursoy, Maier, and Chi 2008; Smola and Sutton 2002). In addition, frequent and constructive feedback (Martin 2005; Smith 2010) and catering for the work-life balance (Smith 2010) are among the top priorities of Millennials. Moreover, the role of the supervisor has been reported to be an important issue for Generation Y (e.g., Myers and Sadaghiani 2010; Arsenault 2004; Jamrog 2002).

However, even though there have been some previous studies concerning Generation Y at work, comparisons within the group are rare, and research to date has tended to treat Generation Y as a homogenous group. For example, most of the empirical research is concentrated only on either working Millennials (e.g., Gursoy, Chi, and Karadag 2013; Hess and Jepsen 2009; Cennamo and Gardner 2008) or has used student samples (e.g., De Hauw and De Vos 2010; Hurst and Good 2009; Broadbridge, Maxwell, and Ogden 2007; Sargent and Domberger 2007; Terjesen, Vinnicombe, and Freeman 2007), despite the research aiming at examining Generation Y in the context of working life. Furthermore, previous studies have tended to generalize, even though stereotyping and prejudices have been recognized as a concern with generational literature (e.g., Deal, Altman, and Rogelberg 2010). In addition, most studies have been quantitative.

Research on Generation Y should concentrate on examining different groups within this generation and on recognizing possible differences between Millennials, particularly concerning their situation with regard to working life. According to studies conducted in the Nordic countries, career preferences are prone to change, for example, as people move along their educational path (Kloster, Høie, and Skår, 2007) and as options broaden after their having acquired a degree (Rognstad, Aasland, and Granum 2004). Additionally, Terjesen, Vinnicombe, and Freeman (2007) found differences between the genders while eliciting attractive organizational attributes from the members of Generation Y, and Konrad et al. (2000) reported that the findings of their meta-analysis suggested that generational differences arise and should be examined in future studies, which would dedicate special attention to understanding Generation Y better than it is currently.

As Generation Y will dominate the workforce in a few years and because it will be vital to understand this generation better, my study contributes to the field by comparing the views of both working and non-working Millennials. Hence, this study proposes the following: *There are differences between working Millennials and non-working Millennials when they describe motivating and demotivating issues in working life.*

In addition, this study has practical implications. As discussed earlier, the human resource (HR) function and HRM overall will face pressures as Generation Y continues to stream into working life. However, because research to date has focused on generalizable findings, there is not a sufficient understanding of Generation Y, as it might not be a homogenous group. In addition, future challenges around recruiting and retaining young employees will inevitably affect HRM. Thus, this study proposes on a practical level that: *The characteristics of Millennials will have consequences for HRM in its attempts to attract non-working Millennials and to engage working Millennials.*

The following section reviews previous literature on Generation Y before initiating discussion on work engagement. The main findings will then be presented, followed by conclusions.

GENERATION Y IN WORKING LIFE

A generation is a group of people born within a specific time period (Smola and Sutton 2002). Members of a generation share “a common location in the historical dimension of the social process” (Parry and Urwin 2011, 81). The collective mindset of each generation consists of attitudes, beliefs, behavior, and values (Arsenault 2004; Smola and Sutton 2002), and every generation has created a culture of its own (Arsenault 2004).

The youngest generation now entering the workforce is Generation Y, also known as Millennials. According to Smola and Sutton (2002), Millennials were born between 1978 and 1995, although there is still some debate over how to constitute different generations and their years of birth (Hess and Jepsen 2009; Smith 2010; Smola and Sutton 2002). The mindset of Generation Y has been shaped by some earth-shattering events such as acts of terrorism, school violence, and natural disasters. These particular experiences have, according to previous research, affected how Millennials address the world and the kinds of values, opinions, and perceptions they hold (Arsenault 2004). Moreover, Millennials have grown up with technology: they are capable of communicating in different ways, manipulating technology, and using it in their daily activities (Smith 2010).

Since Generation Y began to enter the workplace a little over a decade ago, research interest has shifted to examine Millennials in working life. The majority of the research has sought to examine the preferences and characteristics of Millennials as they relate to work. Even though the field remains somewhat unestablished and it has been challenging to deliver high-quality research (e.g., Costanza et al. 2012; Parry and Urwin 2011; Jorgensen 2003), some characteristics have still been found to be essential in describing Millennials.

For example, Millennials are reported to be demanding when it comes to working arrangements and compensation (Smola and Sutton 2002). Also, according to Jamrog (2002), they have high expectations of their supervisors, and they appreciate having close ties with them. Further, according to Gursay, Maier, and Chi (2008) and Smola and Sutton (2002), Millennials are active socially and enjoy having social contacts during their working day, which might also be reflected in the need to be respected by management and colleagues (Hurst and Good 2009).

Myers and Sadaghiani (2010) report that Millennials' relationships with their supervisors differ from those of older generations. Additionally, Millennials prefer a leadership style that incorporates a balance of flexibility, high demands, responsibility, time for trial and error, clear directions, and freedom to do things in their own way. Those preferences impose considerable pressure on supervisors, especially when all this should be accompanied by constant and constructive feedback (Smith 2010; Martin 2005). Further, Arsenault (2004) claims that Generation Y wants its leaders to challenge the system and spur change.

According to previous studies, in terms of motivating Generation Y, personal fulfillment is likely to encourage them more than external factors (Behrstock-Sherratt and Cogshall 2010). Nevertheless, instant bonuses and a variety of perks can also be used as forms of feedback for Generation Y (Hurst and Good 2009).

Generation Y also rates the importance of maintaining a work-life balance higher than previous generations (Smith 2010). Nevertheless, Broadbridge, Maxwell, and Ogden (2007) noted that today's young employees are ready to sacrifice their work-life balance in the short term or even relocate in order to establish a satisfying career. In order to facilitate Millennials' needs concerning flexibility, empowering them could provide such flexibility and also a feeling of being wanted and valued (Behrstock-Sherratt and Cogshall 2010; Broadbridge, Maxwell, and Ogden 2007). In addition, as Millennials are sometimes accused of being unwilling to engage themselves with organizations, the object of engagement for Millennials could be projects and work instead of the organization (Myers and Sadaghiani 2010).

WORK ENGAGEMENT

In this paper, Generation Y and its members' motivational perceptions concerning recruiting and retainment are viewed in the light of work engagement. As presented earlier in this paper, attracting and retaining a new workforce is becoming a critical challenge for organizations, and a deeper understanding is needed on how Generation Y could be engaged. This section presents the concept of engagement, first by defining it and then by discussing it from the practical point of view, that is, from the HRM perspective.

Even though the definition of engagement is rather unclear, it has still attracted interest in recent years, especially concerning the practitioners' point of view, such as professionals in human resources function (e.g., Arrowsmith and Parker 2013), but also in developing established research (e.g., Alfes et al. 2013). Starting from Kahn's (1990) work, which defined personal engagement as people employing and expressing "themselves physically, cognitively, or emotionally during role performances," Schaufeli et al. (2002, 74) later defined work engagement as a "positive, fulfilling, work-related state of mind that is characterized by vigor, dedication, and absorption." First, vigor refers to being energized and invested in one's work, and also to the capability of facing hardship. Second, dedication includes the sense of, for example, enthusiasm, inspiration, and pride. Third, absorption concerns full concentration on the job, the loss of the sense of time while working, and a difficulty of detaching oneself from work (Schaufeli et al. 2002). Absorption can be linked to the concept of flow (Csikszentmihalyi 1990), even though being fully absorbed—and, thus, engaged—is more of a long-term state than flow, which can peak in particular situations.

In this paper, work engagement is understood merely through the first two constructs of work engagement: vigor and dedication. Vigor concerns issues such as bursting with energy, feeling good when going to work, persevering, working for long periods of time, resilience, and feeling strong. Dedication deals with finding a job challenging and inspiring, having enthusiasm for and pride in the work, and accordingly finding it meaningful (Schaufeli and Bakker 2004; Schaufeli et al. 2002). These two dimensions of vigor and dedication have been used in previous quantitative studies (see the longitudinal studies by De Lange, De Witte, and Notelaers 2008 and Hakanen, Schaufeli, and Ahola 2008). Moreover, Gonzales-Roma et al. (2006) suggest that vigor and dedication are the core dimensions of work engagement. Work engagement is seen as a rather stable state of mind, as indicated in a longitudinal study by Seppälä et al. (2015). The aim of this paper—undertaking a

comparison between working and non-working Millennials—resembles that of the validation study on work engagement by Schaufeli et al. (2002), who tested their model with both student and employee samples. They found that the constructs of work engagement are rather similar across those groups.

When comparing work engagement to other similar concepts, such as commitment (as in Shuck et al. 2012), there are some common characteristics. Nevertheless, Shuck et al. propose that commitment precedes engagement. Moreover, Arrowsmith and Parker (2013) note that while research has addressed the issues related to work engagement and similar concepts, concentrating solely on the concept of work engagement is still rare.

In the Finnish context, the concept of meaningful work has been discussed relatively extensively in recent years (e.g., Alasoini 2006; Antila 2006; Järvensivu 2013). Järvensivu, Valkama, and Koski (2009) emphasize that the main point concerning the meaningfulness of work is the feeling as an employee of being able to perform one's task, and feeling that one can cope with the job. In addition, perceived feelings of respect, coping, and recognition should be present and supported by the organization. These characteristics are also present in the framework of work engagement and thus to some extent overlap.

In order to enhance or facilitate work engagement, there are some prerequisite conditions. For example, Christian, Garza, and Slaughter (2011) link work engagement and job design, as they view the relationship between job characteristics¹ and work engagement as potentially rather strong. In addition, they also mention that perceived meaningfulness of work plays an important role in this relationship. Seppälä et al. (2015) similarly found that both work content and personality aspects (that is, individual characteristics) should be noted when assessing work engagement.

In organizations, work engagement is associated with energetic, self-efficacious employees with a positive attitude and high levels of activity (Bakker 2009). Those employees would also be able to transform their energy into activity outside work as positive spillovers, making them generally active individuals at and outside work (Bakker, Albrecht, and Leiter 2011). In addition, work engagement has also been linked to performance (e.g., Christian, Garza, and Slaughter 2011; Bakker and Bal 2010) and financial outcomes (Xanthopoulou et al. 2009), as well as innovativeness (e.g., Chughtai 2013).

1 Hackman and Oldham's (1976) Job Characteristics Model (JCM) includes five components: task identity, task significance, skill variety, autonomy, and feedback.

Accordingly, HR professionals are among the people who have become interested in engagement-related issues and recognize it as a topic that should be both studied more and promoted more than it is currently (Arrowsmith and Parker 2013). In fact, according to Alfes et al. (2013), organizations wishing to communicate their interest in and commitment to their employees use HRM practices as an important channel to do so, and it is also possible to solidify work engagement through the application of these practices (Bal, Kooij, and De Jong 2013). Accordingly, line managers have become HRM's top priority because line managers execute HRM practices through their routine interaction with their subordinates (Alfes et al. 2013). Thus, the interplay between the HRM function and line managers is central to the creation of positive outcomes (Alfes et al. 2013), and as Seppälä et al. (2015) concluded, engagement could best be enhanced through the routine activity occurring in the workplace.

DATA AND ANALYSIS

The data collection process utilized two rather innovative methods. The first was the method of empathy-based stories (MEBS). The second utilized social media to reach the informants.

Motivational factors were examined using a passive role-playing method, MEBS. In MEBS, different background stories, or scripts, are described to the informants, but in each story one specific factor is varied. The informants are then asked to take the role of the protagonist (see Ginsburg 1979) and write a short story related to the given description (Eskola 1991, 7). MEBS has been developed by Finnish sociologists, and it was chosen here as the data-gathering method because (1) it is particularly suited to exploratory research (Eskola 1991, 10–11); (2) it can be modified according to the research field and interest; and (3) it can be analyzed using traditional qualitative analysis methods (Eskola 1997, 16). These characteristics supported the study setting in this research, which attempts to find a deeper understanding of the motivations of Generation Y and adds to the body of qualitative research on this group. In addition, MEBS can reveal issues unfamiliar to the researcher before the research process is implemented (Juntunen and Saarti 2000). As the aim of this study is to examine possible variations within the group of Generation Y, MEBS offers a suitable method to understand how a phenomenon is experienced in a certain group and if there are differing views inside that group (Halttunen and Sormunen 2000; Juntunen and Saarti 2000). Overall, MEBS deals with the same issues as any other data-collection method in qualitative studies.

The answers, that is the stories the informants produce, reflect their own expectations and perceptions. In their answers, they use the same patterns as in daily life when they are weighing different options and acting on their own perspectives. However, referring to a third party makes the answers easier to produce, even though the results can be seen as representations of the informants' own values (Eskola 1991, 10–11). The answers can therefore be interpreted as their perceptions. In fact, some of the stories were written in a manner that revealed the profession of the informant, manifesting the personal touch in the answers. Additionally, the stories that the informants provided were rich, and they used colorful language, which might not have been the case had the informants been asked directly about motivational issues. Eskola (2001, 78) states that it is not necessary to know whether the stories are real or not, as they are possible stories. He adds that even though MEBS can produce stereotypical answers, people make decisions and act based on these same stereotypes in real life. The advantage of using MEBS is also to reveal new themes. However, the technique can confirm previously known issues as well. The scripts in this study described a situation in which a person comes home from work. At the end of both stories a question was presented: Why does the worker feel as was described? Furthermore, the informants were encouraged to write a short story to illustrate their answer to the prompt. The scripts are as follows:

Positive script:

Imagine that one day Sami comes home from work. He feels truly motivated and he has a lot of energy to work. It is nice to go to work in the morning, and Sami is always looking forward to the next working day. Why would Sami feel this motivated and be so enthusiastic?²

Negative script:

Imagine that one day Sami comes home from work. He feels tired, and he cannot seem to find any enthusiasm for his work. It is not nice to go to work in the mornings, and he could not care less about going to work again next week. Sami is looking forward to the weekend so that he does not have to go to work. Why is Sami not motivated by his work, and why does he lack all enthusiasm?

2 The scripts have been translated from Finnish by the author. The data collection was carried out originally in Finnish.

After the questionnaire was created using the scripts above, the informants were approached, mainly via Facebook. This form of approach was chosen because members of Generation Y are comfortable being online and use the Internet frequently. The questionnaire itself was located on an external platform, and the link to the questionnaire was shared on Facebook three times in 2012. Viewers were asked to share the link by posting it on the Facebook walls of their friends. The data-collection process was both convenient and effective, and it produced 252 informants who were members of Generation Y.

These 252 Millennials produced 1,004 stories, of which 504 concerned motivation. However, as the aim of this paper is to shed light on motivational factors between working Millennials and non-working Millennials, a sample of the data was chosen for use in this particular research setting. As a consequence, the dataset comprises 173 replies: 96 of those informants had a permanent job, and 77 were not working at all. The stories based on the script concerning the motivation were chosen for this study. As a result, the data available for analysis are as follows:

- Millennials with a fixed employment contract: 96 positive stories and 96 negative stories
- Millennials with no employment contract: 77 positive stories and 77 negative stories

A content analysis method was adopted, and the data were preliminarily coded with NVivo. After several rounds of coding, the findings, presented in the following section, emerged from the data.

FINDINGS

The main findings derived from the stories are presented in Table 1. The results are divided into four categories following the precedent from previous sections: positive and negative stories of the working Millennials with a permanent contract, and positive and negative stories from non-working Millennials.

As Table 1 illustrates, there were some similarities between the groups and also between the positive and negative settings. As previously described, *immediate work community, work environment, and colleagues* were overall the most often mentioned issue in every category, regardless of the nature of the script (positive or negative), or the background of the informants (working or non-working). Thus, the Millennials emphasized the meaning of social connections in creating motivation and also as causes of feeling demotivated. On the other hand, an acrimonious work environment was

also noted as something that could lead to a lack of motivation.

As might be expected, the *job content* topic was also present in all categories, even though the emphasis changed based on the script. Interestingly, in both of the negative settings being *frustrated*, as in the subjects being bored or not being happy about their tasks, appeared as the second most often mentioned issue. Further, the

	Permanent Contract (n=96)	No Contract (n=77)
Positive, Motivating Stories	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immediate working community, work environment (54%) • Job content (36%) • Meaningful work (35%) • Supervisor (33%) • Feedback (20%) • Salary (19%) • Progressing, learning (18%) • Flexibility (18%) • Sufficient workload (16%) • Work-life balance (15%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immediate working community, work environment (62%) • Meaningful work (43%) • Work-life balance (32%) • Education-job fit, suitable field of work (27%) • Job content (22%) • Suitable challenges (22%) • Salary, compensation (22%) • Flexibility (19%) • Supervisor (18%) • Progressing, learning (16%)
Negative, Demotivating Stories	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immediate working community, work environment (44%) • Frustration (34%) • Supervisor (34%) • Sufficient workload (29%) • Meaningful work (25%) • Job content (24%) • Work-life balance (19%) • Salary (14%) • Feedback (10%) • Inflexibility (8%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immediate working community, work environment (60%) • Frustration (49%) • Sufficient workload (30%) • Supervisor (22%) • Unsuitable field of work (19%) • Depression, mental problems, burnout (17%) • Progressing (getting stuck) (17%) • (Uncompetitive) salary (17%) • Work-life balance (14%) • Feedback (12%)

Table 1. The main findings of the stories (the percentage of the informants who mentioned the issue).

informants discussed how the work appears *meaningful* to the protagonist in the positive setting. However, the opposite reaction was not as clear in the negative settings, even though some of the informants mentioned that the protagonist does not perceive his job as meaningful.

Notably, although they were mentioned, *salary* and remuneration did not appear among the most often mentioned issues in any of the categories.

While there were similarities between the four categories, the emphasis did vary to some extent. For example, *supervisor* was discussed in each category, but more often among working Millennials than in the other group. In addition, the frequency of mentions of *work-life balance* varied between the categories. Furthermore, receiving constructive *feedback* was valued more by working Millennials. In addition, non-working Millennials did not pay a great deal of attention to the *workload* being sufficient in their positive stories, even though in the rest of the categories this issue was mentioned several times.

Moreover, a common feature was the lack of references to *job security* by either group of Millennials, despite some passing references to redundancies.

Analyzing the differences between the four categories reveals some interesting themes that warrant further discussion. Interestingly, *workplace bullying*, *mental problems*, *burnout*, and *depression* were mentioned only by the non-working Millennials. This indicates that the picture non-working Millennials have of working life is to some extent harsh and negative, as they raised these issues without themselves having current experience of working life.

Another noteworthy issue is that of the education-job fit, which was addressed in different terms by each group. The non-working Millennials were particularly concerned with whether they would find suitable positions after graduating in their chosen field. Interestingly, working Millennials did not discuss this matter in their stories, even though it seems unlikely that they all have jobs that match their level of education and aspirations.

DISCUSSION

This study first examined work engagement among two groups of members of Generation Y, working and non-working people, based on their perceptions of work motivation. Their responses were compared, and as a result some conclusions could be drawn on what attracts Millennials to employers, and which factors employers wishing to engage them might emphasize.

Overall, the findings are in line with previous studies that emphasize the meanings of social connections and the work environment (Hurst and Good 2009; Martin 2005), job content and job characteristics (Behrstock-Sherratt and Coggsall 2010; Broadbridge, Maxwell, and Ogden 2007), flexibility and empowerment (Behrstock-Sherratt and Coggsall 2010; Broadbridge, Maxwell, and Ogden 2007), fear of stagnation and getting stuck (Martin 2005), and work-life balance (Behrstock-Sherratt and Coggsall 2010; Hurst and Good 2009; Broadbridge, Maxwell, and Ogden 2007) among Generation Y. The fact that relatively many of the non-working Millennials raised the issue of finding the right field and a suitable position implies that this group of Millennials is concerned with whether they will be able to find their place in working life after finishing higher education. In fact, Generation Y is the most educated generation so far worldwide (Eisner 2005). As a whole, Millennials have high expectations of their careers, and those expectations include having challenges and responsibility in the early stages of their careers (Hurst and Good 2009).

This study makes two propositions, which are reviewed below.

There are observable differences when working Millennials and non-working Millennials describe motivating and demotivating issues in working life.

The results and major findings allow some conclusions to be drawn. It seems that the factors that attract and engage Millennials differ to some extent. Non-working Millennials are more concerned about how to survive in the workplace, about finding a suitable and challenging job, and about obtaining adequate remuneration.

When the results are viewed from an engagement point of view, that is, with a view to vigor and dedication, there are identifiable patterns that are repeated in this study. Vigor was manifested in descriptions of sufficient workload and frustration with a job. Interestingly, vigor was present more clearly in the negative scenarios of non-working Millennials, who, in addition to exhaustive workloads and frustration, wrote about depression, mental problems, and burnout. In their validation study, Schaufeli et al. (2002) also noticed that students reported significantly higher levels of burnout (presented as the opposite to engagement). It could be that not being employed is a cause of anxiety and distress, and that is reflected in the stories.

The aspect of dedication was associated with more themes than was vigor. For example, suitable job content and perceived meaningfulness of the job were present in almost all of the categories, with the exception of the stories of the non-working

Millennials explaining the protagonist's lack of motivation. The issues of suitable challenges, progress in career path, and learning were also mentioned several times across the sample.

However, non-working Millennials' negative stories merely represent issues related to vigor, and their positive stories include more themes related to dedication. The stories of the working Millennials reference these two constructs in a more balanced way. There appear to be some differences between these two groups, which indicates that how to engage Millennials deserves continued research attention.

Millennials' characteristics will have consequences for HRM's attempts to attract non-working Millennials and to engage working Millennials.

There are several indicators visible in the findings that emphasize the significance of HRM in meeting Millennials' preferences in order to attract and engage them. Organizations recruiting Generation Y workers would do well to emphasize certain factors such as a pleasant workplace; a competitive and adequate salary, and some kind of merit-recognition system; healthcare schemes or other methods to promote well-being; and a variety of tasks or challenges that are appropriate to the employee's level of education. Once employers have recruited Millennials, they should emphasize their ability to provide flexible forms of working (in terms of time, place, equipment, etc.), varied roles and responsibilities, support from supervisors, and an assurance of a work-life balance. Overall, increased attention to work environment issues would meet the needs of Millennials and thus help motivate and engage them.

The analysis of Millennials' thoughts on work arrangements indicates that the absence of new challenges, too much routine work, or unspecific job descriptions adversely affect their motivation. If a promotion is not possible, members of Generation Y might appreciate the opportunity to multi-task or welcome job enlargement while they await promotion. This should be taken into account when HR is designing job descriptions, trainee programs, and career paths. Further, this study suggests that Millennials want to be given sufficient resources and time to accomplish their tasks in order to retain a suitable workload. Catering for Millennials' competencies through, for example, workplace learning or mentoring programs, could help them in terms of development and coping with their tasks. Furthermore, the balance between work and private life could be addressed with flexible working arrangements whenever possible, and this is an area where the supervisor's role is important in daily work-place management.

Limitations and future studies

As any study, the current one has its limitations, which can also indicate openings for future studies. First, the data-collection process introduced in this study merits some discussion. Even though there were several benefits in using Facebook (efficiency, convenience, and access to a large number of Millennials), there can be some drawbacks in using social media, such as its tendency to encourage shorter answers, even though the data were collected on an external platform outside Facebook. However, the experiences from this study are encouraging, and reaching informants in this digital age can be powered by social media.

Second, even though the sample is relatively large for a qualitative study, generalizations are challenging and should be attempted only with caution. For example, despite the turbulence currently engulfing working life, which has led to layoffs, neither salaries nor benefits were raised to a significant degree in the stories. In fact, there were only a few remarks on monetary factors. The informants did not even emphasize the broader aspect of job security or stability. However, it would be unwise to conclude in the light of these findings that Millennials would not appreciate stable positions and are not willing to engage themselves. Nevertheless, this finding is interesting and would benefit from further research.

Third, in generational research, the dilemma of age and generation is always present. In other words, some content in the responses can be traced back to the informants' age or generation, among other things. However, a meta-analysis by Costanza et al. (2012) confirmed that a generational effect does exist, even though its characteristics are not easily established. Parry and Urwin (2011) distinguish between generations and age effects, concluding that the mindset of an individual is a mixture of different factors, generation being one of them. According to Parry and Urwin, a generational group is formed on the basis of historical events and related cultural phenomena, and it is dependent on the social proximity to these shared events and phenomena. As a consequence, examining cultural and national generations becomes essential. Thus, while it is important to recognize these parallel concepts of age and generation, doing so should not detract from recognizing generational factors. In this study, the formation of a person's mindset can be seen as logically constructed in the early years of development—and in relation to other factors as well.

Despite these rather unavoidable limitations, this study should encourage future research to adopt new methods in collecting data and harnessing social media. Because this study concentrated only on work engagement, other studies on

Generation Y might consider burnout-related concerns, an opposite to work engagement, as health is of concern among young people in Europe (Eurostat 2015). In addition, longitudinal studies and in-depth interviews would definitely advance the discussion around Generation Y, as both academics and practitioners are interested in tackling the issues around generations.

CONCLUSIONS

In Finland, the discussion around Generation Y has been vivid and will continue as such in the near future too. The most interesting question is not whether this generation truly exists or not (see, e.g., Pyöriä et al. 2013), but to what extent the new employees, let them be called Generation Y or something else, shape the norms in working life or adjust themselves in the current situation. Inevitably, working life is changing because of demographic shifts and also as a result of political decision-making, including pressures to decrease the amount of student allowance and to increase the retirement age, and it could be that this generation accelerates these changes by demanding better working conditions, flexibility, and the possibility of combining working life and personal life in a balanced way.

It seems inevitable that organizations must take notice of Millennials and their needs. Even though there has been debate over whether generations exist in the first place, we are still facing a working life where a large number of employees have grown up in a different world than the rest. Moreover, stereotyping and generalizing characteristics can be dangerous, as Generation Y seems not to be a homogenous group. Instead, there is strong evidence of variations within Generation Y, which should be more carefully approached in future studies.

As a consequence, what signals work engagement will differ depending on the situation, for example, whether the informant is working or not. This indicates that the factors that attract Millennials, and which should be emphasized both in the recruiting process and in employer branding, differ from the factors that might be used to engage Millennials and retain them in this era of competitive labor markets. In addition, Millennials might engage not primarily with the organization, but with social relationships in the workplace, the work itself, or their own career progress. Hence the overall perception and understanding concerning engagement could be changing. Millennials in Finland have grown up in a society beset by lay-offs, and the ideal of a long career is an unfamiliar concept for them. In addition, the Finnish Generation Y has been raised to believe that education matters, and high education levels increase its expectations concerning a future career and work.

Thus, Millennials are worth taking seriously as a group of HRM clients, and as this study suggests, it is important for HRM to pay attention to different groups of Millennials, such as those studying and those already working. Supervisors are key players when HRM practices are delivered at the employee's level, and supervisors will need to acquire competencies to carry out their duties. Research can help both supervisors and HRM to acquire essential information on Generation Y.

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KUUTAMOSONAATTI (THE MOONLIGHT SONATA): REPRODUCING ANTI-IDYLLIC RURAL REPRESENTATIONS IN A FINNISH POPULAR FILM

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ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the reproduction of rural anti-idyllic representations in audio-visual popular culture through an analysis of the Finnish film *Kuutamonaatti* (The moonlight sonata, 1988). We examine how the divide between rural and urban people, as well as their living environments and gender roles, has been constructed in the film. We also show how the film mixes features of Hollywood hillbilly characters with a Finnish negative stereotyping of rural men. Moreover, both in Finland and the United States, the negative stereotyping of rural men had begun before the era of modern film. This paper claims that the representations of rural otherness in popular film mirror the development of the Finnish society toward a modern, urban way of life, which becomes dominant.

Keywords: Rural representations, otherness, urbanization, popular film, hillbilly

INTRODUCTION

Differences between urban and rural people are social constructs that are constantly being created and renewed. When creating these differences, representations of the rural and urban play a key part. The image of backward rural inhabitants who are unaware of modern life and values is created by the urban majority (Eriksson 2010a, 2010b; Stenbacka 2011). The rural population has little, if any, means of affecting how the dominant urban media see their way of life (Cartwright 2011, 217–18). Popular culture has an especially important role, as people are affected by it daily

via different media (Stenbacka 2011, 236–37). Cultural representations can also have tangible effects on the rural in society (Eriksson 2010a, 102–3). One central medium constructing representations of urban and rural is popular film. During the past twenty years, scholars of cultural geography and rural studies (e.g., Tani 1995a, 1995b; Bell 1997; Little 1999; Eriksson 2010a, 2010b; Stenbacka 2011; Jumppanen and Suutari 2013), history (e.g., Williamson 1995; Harkins 2004; Cartwright 2011), and cultural history and cinema studies (e.g., Laine 1995, 1999, Laine and Laine 2008; Murphy 2013; Clover 2015) have studied the way rural space and people have been represented in popular film.

This article focuses on the reproduction of anti-idyllic representations of the rural in Finnish popular film and its cultural roots. We analyze the Finnish film, *Kuutamosonaatti* (The moonlight sonata), which premiered in 1988. According to our interpretation, *Kuutamosonaatti* reflects the modernization and urbanization of Finnish society that had advanced rapidly after the Second World War. The film can even be seen as a culmination of this cultural change, where positively nostalgic representations of the rural were accompanied by anti-idyllic and even horrific images.

According to human geography scholar David Bell (1997), the ultimate embodiment of negative representations in popular film is “rural horror.” Rural horror is not a specific film genre as such (see more about genres, e.g., Altman 1999), but a collection of films that use negative representations to portray the decay and degeneration of rural communities and their terrifying consequences (Bell 1997, 101, 106). In rural horror, the countryside represents extreme otherness, where rural people play the role of murderers or monsters, or both, whereas urban people are portrayed as victims and heroes (Bell 1997, 96, 100–101). Popular culture scholar Bernice M. Murphy (2013) has used the term “rural gothic,” pointing to fearful representations of the backwoods in American popular literature and films. Film and literature scholar Carol Clover (2015), for one, has created the concept “urbanoia films” to show how the urban fear of the unknown rural was used in creating slasher films in the 1970s and early 1980s. According to historian Ryan Lee Cartwright (2011, 20), urbanoia films were aimed at youthful urban audiences. In these films, privileged city people fought against disenfranchised, poor white people from remote rural regions. The urbanoia films used many well-established, anti-idyllic tropes of rural America that had been constructed during the earlier decades of the twentieth century. Sexualized “genetic deficiencies” within the rural population from the 1910s and later, visual imagery of the rural poverty seen in photographs of the Farm Security Administration from the 1930s and 1940s, as well as the threat

of psychopathic serial killers in the American rural heartland, created by the urban news media in the wake of the case of murderer and necrophile Ed Gein from rural Wisconsin in the late 1950s, were all seen in these films (Cartwright 2011, 23–24, 177–78).

Political scientist John S. Nelson (2005) sees that the role of horror film is to reveal the hidden evils of society. The hidden evils depicted in a rural horror film can be the consequences of structural change, as in *The Texas Chain Saw Massacre* (1974). In the film, an unemployed butcher family has started to kill city people instead of animals, and they make a special sausage of those murdered for other city people to consume (Bell 1997; Clover 2015, 130). The social evils can also reflect the role of the rural as a mere resource and recreational periphery that fulfills the needs of the urban population. In *Deliverance* (1972), for instance, the building of the reservoir forces local inhabitants to leave their homes, while at the same time urban adventurers arrive to experience the last moments of the wild river before it is harnessed for the energy needs of modern urban life (Clover 2015, 207).

Such negative rural representations are the focus in this article, where we show how *Kuutamonaatti* constructs them. Methodologically, our article is multidisciplinary: we follow the conventions of cultural geography, political science, and cultural history with influences from cinema studies. We will focus on the social evils depicted by the film, such as the massive demographic change in favor of urban regions. We will also point out similarities to the tradition of American hillbilly characters, where rural inhabitants are represented as deviant in order to amuse or scare urban viewers (Williamson 1995; Harkins 2004). We will, however, show that the depiction of rural otherness in Finland goes beyond copying Hollywood images, as deviant and wretched characters have been depicted in Finnish culture since the latter half of the nineteenth century. *Kuutamonaatti* is thus a part of a longer, Finnish cultural continuum.

THE CONTEXT OF URBAN–RURAL RELATIONS IN FINNISH CINEMA

Kuutamonaatti can be characterized as an example of a Finnish modern horror film with a touch of parody (e.g., von Bagh 2005, 364), joining in the tradition of rural horror or urbanoia film, where the urban main character is harassed in the countryside by brutal rural aggressors (Bell 1997, 95). The film tells the story of a Finnish model, Anni Stark, whose international career has been damaged by a scandal during a photoshoot in Madrid. Anni returns to Finland, and her manager, Carli, takes her to the countryside to rest and hide from the paparazzi and press.

A reluctant Anni is left to stay in a remote ski cabin in the Finnish wilderness. The situation goes bad when she meets the members of the local Kyyrölä family, led by their old matriarch, a religious zealot whose odd bachelor sons are the untidy stalker, Arvo, and his deformed brother, Sulo. The Kyyrölä brothers begin to harass Anni, who, in turn, is helped by her own brother, Johannes. At the end of the film, Anni kills Arvo, her tormentor.

Despite the simple B-movie storyline, in the Finnish context, *Kuutamonaatti* was a high quality national-level production directed by Olli Soinio. In 1989, the film received two national film awards for best male actor performance and for best sound editing. It was submitted to the International Fantasy Film Award competition, Fantasporto, in 1990. On a Finnish scale, *Kuutamonaatti* had a relatively large audience for a horror film. Around 37,000 people saw it in the cinema, and it has been shown on national television five times between the years 1991 and 2014. By the end of its third showing in 1998, already over a million viewers had seen it (*Suomen kansallisfilmografia* 10, 2002, 354–59; Elonet 2013a). In a country with a population of 5.4 million, the film can be said to be well known.

In 1991, a sequel to *Kuutamonaatti* was produced: *Kadunlakaisijat* (Moonlight sonata II: Street sweepers). It brings the Kyyrölä family to the capital city of Helsinki, where Arvo Kyyrölä works as street sweeper and again harasses a famous model played by former *Playboy* Playmate of the Month, Kata Kärkkäinen. Even more parodic than *Kuutamonaatti*, the second film plays with the antecedent representations of urban and rural in the Finnish literature and film by showing Arvo leaving his home village and heading to the capital city. *Kuutamonaatti II* also depicts the anachronistic and preposterous political divide of the nation caused by the Civil War of 1918 as Red Guard soldiers resurrected from their rural graves wreak havoc in the Finnish capital, where the elite eagerly await membership in the European Economic Community. The film has been shown on national television several times, and by 1998, it had already been seen by 735,000 viewers (*Suomen kansallisfilmografia* 11, 2004; Elonet 2013b; see also, von Bagh 2005, 364–65).

The storyline of *Kuutamonaatti* can be interpreted as the confrontation between the urban and rural. According to Finnish cultural geographer Sirpa Tani (1995b), the countryside formed a natural point of reference, and many films until the mid-1960s had obvious anti-urban elements. The capital city of Helsinki was often pictured as a “Babel of Decay” that spoiled the good rural people who moved there. The urban disease, nevertheless, was curable by simply moving back to the countryside (Tani 1995b, 42).

However, according to film scholar Kimmo Laine (1995, 1999), the divide between urban and rural in Finnish film is far from being black-and-white, and the roots of the Finnish urban fiction film and urban depictions date back to the 1910s (see also Laine and Laine 2008). By the mid-1930s, the Finnish film production company Suomi-Filmi had produced several modern films that were located in an urban environment. Another Finnish film company, Suomen Filmitörmä, instead, favored rural themes in its films. However, the Finnish film historians paid little attention to the urban films of Suomi-Filmi because they wanted to make a clear distinction between anti-modern, pre-World War II films and those of the post-war period. Pre-war films with a modern urban element did not fit into this picture; therefore, they were often ignored. Laine also points out that many of the films produced by Suomen Filmitörmä in the 1930s and 1940s were actually set in the urban environment of Helsinki, though these films represented the capital in more traditional terms than the films produced by Suomi-Filmi. It is also worth noting that, despite rural topics, many of the films used modern film conventions and dealt with modern values even though they were set in the countryside (Laine 1999, 139–41; Laine and Laine 2008).

Kuutamonaatti was not the first Finnish film that represented the countryside as fearsome otherness, let alone the first Finnish film to contain horrific elements. In 1927, the first Finnish horror film, *Noidan kirot* (The curse of the witch), was filmed, and in 1952 witchcraft appeared on the screen again in two films: *Noita palaa elämään* (The witch comes back to life) and, the most acknowledged Finnish horror film so far, *Valkoinen peura* (The white reindeer) (Löytökoski 2006a; see also, von Bagh 2005, 196–98.)

Between the 1970s and the 1990s, many films represented the rural way of life as in distress in the face of structural changes in Finnish society. The countryside did not have enough work for its inhabitants, who moved en masse to growing cities in Finland or Sweden. Films such as *Kahdeksan surmanluotia* (Eight deadly shots, 1972), *Syöksykierre* (Gunpoint, 1981), *Ajolahti* (Gotta run! 1982), and *Kaivo* (The well, 1992) are examples of the depiction of this rural desperation and anti-idyll. Despite some elements of urban–rural confrontation in these films, they are not entirely based on the idea of violent confrontation between the rural and the urban, as in *Kuutamonaatti*, where rural problems such as a declining and aging population and a badly distorted gender structure form a backdrop to the events (see also Löytökoski 2006b).

THE RURAL LANDSCAPE AND PEOPLE

Kuutamonaatti portrays the Finnish countryside as a backward space, where gray houses, messy yards, dense forests, and fields dominate the scenery. The film itself does not reveal in which part of Finland it is located even though the hills seen at the end of the film clearly depict the scenery of northern or eastern Finland. In fact, the final scene was filmed in Lapland, but otherwise the film was mainly shot in southern Finland, not that far from the capital city of Helsinki (*Suomen kansallisfilmografia* 10, 2002, 354–55). The dialect the locals use in the film does not help in placing the events either. The main aggressor, Arvo Kyyrölä, for instance, speaks mainly eastern dialects, but he and some other rural characters in the film also use western dialects and even standard language. Thus, the events of the film could have taken place almost anywhere in rural Finland.

The fact that the events of the film seem to take place in some unknown location outside the capital region is rare in films based on a negative portrayal of the rural. Usually, these images are situated in a geographically distinct and to some extent identifiable region, which in the prevailing urban discourse or for historical reasons, or for both, is considered as lagging. In American films, such regions are southern states (Jansson 2005), such as Texas (e.g., *The Texas Chain Saw Massacre*, *Southern Comfort*, *Two Thousand Maniacs*) and the Appalachian Mountains (*Deliverance*). The films situated in these regions are usually populated by characters who speak with strong rural accents (Williamson 1995), which can be given derogatory names such as a “hick accent.”

In the Nordic context, the region in Sweden that is often seen to form a distinct backward geographical entity is Norrland, which is constituted of the five northernmost Swedish counties. From the fifteenth century until the present, Norrland has been described as part of the national periphery (Eriksson 2010b, 23, 31–32). During the last two decades, Norrland’s way of life has been depicted in rather anti-idyllic terms in such films as *Populärmusik från Vittula* (Popular music from Vittula, Swe. original 2004), based on the novel by Mikael Niemi, and the film *Jägarna* (*The Hunters*, 1996) (see Eriksson 2010a, 101–2) and its sequel *Jägarna II* (*False Trail*, 2011). Norrland has received a special peripheral status in Sweden because of its Finnish and Sámi minorities, which have been considered inferior to Swedes (Eriksson 2010b, 31–32, 72). This role for minorities is easily recognizable in *Populärmusik från Vittula*, as the main characters of the film are speakers of *Meänkieli*, a variant of the Finnish language spoken in northern Sweden. The Sámi people play an important part in *Jägarna*, as poachers kill their reindeer. An interesting detail

of these films is that the Finnish actor Jarmo Mäkinen plays the part of the violent father in *Populärmusik från Vittula* and one of the poachers in *Jägarna*. In *Jägarna II*, Finnish actor Eero Milonoff plays the role of one of the villains. In the United States as well, representations of rural otherness are often built around a particular national minority, such as the French-speaking Cajuns of Louisiana or isolated descendants of Scottish and Irish people in the Appalachian Mountains (Bell 1997, 98; Harkins 2004).

There are also minority groups in Finland such as the Roma, Sámi people, and the Swedish-speaking minority. Swedish-speaking people constitute around five percent of the population and are concentrated in the coastal regions of southern and western Finland. However, this minority has not been marginalized. Historically, Finland had been a part of Sweden for more than 600 years until 1809, when it was annexed to Russia as the Grand Duchy of Finland. The Swedish language, however, maintained its dominant position until the late nineteenth century, as Swedish remained the language of the Finnish social elite and of public administration (Paasi 1996, 44, 48). Even today, the national languages of Finland, according to the constitution, are Finnish and Swedish. Another minority group, the indigenous Sámi people who live in northern Finland, however, has been seen as a marginalized minority in Finland. In Finnish popular culture, representations of the exotic Sámi way of life were seen in the horror fantasy film *Valkoinen peura* (The white reindeer, 1952). The film depicts the Sámi people as traditional reindeer herders. In the film, the young Sámi wife, Pirita, becomes a witch who turns into a beautiful white reindeer that lures male herders one after another to their deaths. The film distinguishes between modern Finns and the traditional Sámi people. In the film, a haughty Finnish forest officer comes to kill the reindeer with his rifle. He does not believe the warnings of the Sámi people that the witch must be killed with “a cold iron.” When facing Pirita’s magic, the officer’s rifle explodes. The shocked and humiliated man then wanders around the fells to be later saved by the Sámi. At the end of the film, Pirita’s husband, Aslak, spears the white reindeer, only to realize that he has put to death his own wife. Thus, the film portrays the Sámi as the children of nature or noble savages whose traditional ways fit the white snows of Lapland, whereas those of modern Finns do not.

In general, films representing minorities as inferior others are relatively scarce compared to an ample selection of Finnish popular films and literature that portray the poverty and suffering of the rural people in different parts of the country and representing different “tribes” or regional groups of Finns. In Finnish film, the

depiction of these groups of Finns and their characteristics has played a crucial role (Tani 1995b, 43) and has strong cultural roots. The tradition of portraying and using regional groups in the creation of the national self-image had been originally popularized by the writer Zacharias Topelius in his *Maamme kirja* (The book of our land, 1876), which was read in elementary schools across the country for decades and has affected the self-awareness of several generations of Finns in a profound way.

As for the films showing the struggle of rural inhabitants representing various regional groups, a few examples can be mentioned. *Putkinotko* (Children of the wilderness, 1954), which is based on the novel (1919–20) by Joel Lehtonen, portrays the anti-idyllic rural life of a poor sharecropper family in the county of Savolax (Fin. Savo) in eastern Finland, in particular the antics of the man of the house, lazy bootlegger Juutas Käkriäinen. *Maa on syntinen laulu* (The earth is a sinful song, 1973) gives a grim image of life in northern Finland. Rural life in western and southern Finland has also been depicted in anti-idyllic terms. South Ostrobothnia (*Etelä-Pohjanmaa*) in western Finland has been the background of films that portray the violent nature of the men of the region. Films such as *Pohjalaisia* (Ostrobothnians, 1936), *Härmästä poikia kymmenen* (Ten boys from Härmä, 1950), *Häijyt* (The tough ones, 1999), and *Härmä* (Once upon a time in the north, 2012) are examples of this long tradition (Laine 1999, 225–29; Varjola 2002; Jutila and Kassila 2014). The difficult living conditions of the poor in rural Tavastia (Häme) in southern Finland have also been pictured in such films as *Täällä Pohjantähden alla* (Here, beneath the North Star, 1968) and *Aapo* (1994); the first was based on the novels of Väinö Linna, and the latter was based on a short story by Runar Schildt. In light of these examples, it can be said that the portrayal of the Finnish countryside in film and literature has also had a strong anti-idyllic tradition that has quite evenly covered the entire country, even though some regions such as Ostrobothnia in western Finland or Savo in eastern Finland have been seen on the screen more often than some others (Tani 1995b, 43–44; Laine 1999, 244).

Naming just one Finnish geographical region to represent peripheral rurality is rather difficult. First, urbanization in Finland took place much later than in the United States, where already in the 1920s over half of the population lived in cities (Williamson 1995, 45), or in Sweden, where this milestone was reached in the 1940s (Nilsson 2016). In Finland, the urban population did not outnumber the rural population until the late 1950s (Statistics Finland 2009, 72). This has meant that most Finns have had personal contact with the rural way of life more recently than the majority of Americans or Swedes. Finnish attitudes in general are rather positive

toward the rural way of life. According to the Finnish rural barometer of 2011, as many Finns still feel that they are both urban and rural as compared to those who see themselves as purely urban (Sitra 2011). Consequently, this means that a noticeable number of Finns do not see any need to underline the difference between the urban and rural.

On the level of national politics, however, the question of the urban–rural divide actualizes on a regular basis. Political geographer Sami Moisio (2012) claims that city regions, especially the metropolitan region of Helsinki, have strengthened since the early 1990s when the focus of Finnish regional policy shifted from the overall development of the whole country to the development of competitive city regions, most notably, the capital region. Instead of keeping the population distributed evenly throughout Finland and the living conditions relatively equal in different parts of the country, the goal of the new regional policy has been to create a competitive nation, where regional development differences are seen as natural and are accepted, and the capital region is seen as the most important engine of growth (Moisio 2012). Therefore, the urban–rural confrontation in Finland can be seen based on the idea of the capital region versus the rest of the country. Interestingly, this generalization downplays the role of smaller Finnish cities as being rural, which seems to emphasize the historically strong role of the central administration in Finland (Paasi 1996, 45).

According to geographer Anssi Paasi, Helsinki has represented the power of the central administration in Finland. However, Helsinki has never defined the Finnish identity alone, but provinces like Karelia in the east and their natural landscapes have also played an important part in Finnish nation-building. Nevertheless, the city of Helsinki has been important in shaping the national identity since 1812 when it became the capital (Paasi 1996, 44–45). Since the 1930s, Finnish films have also used Helsinki in constructing the national identity (Laine 1999, 139–40). Thus, film representations of Finland have been built based on both provinces and the capital region.

In building the national identity, the Swedish-speaking elite of Finland played a key part in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries (Paasi 1996, 48). The nineteenth-century Finnish national movement leaned on the rural folk to generate national authenticity. At the same time, the leaders of the movement authorized themselves to speak and act on behalf of the people, who required their intellectual help in creating national culture and history (Knuuttila 1994, 9, 25–27; Jussila 2007, 18–19, 24–25). To follow Seppo Knuuttila's (1994) theorizing, the

lower rural ranks of the society were considered too simple-minded to define their identity and culture by themselves.

According to Edward Said (1978, 17), geographical generalizations are a central way of constructing otherness. Said had come to this conclusion by analyzing the Western cultural representation of the Orient, a geographical area consisting of the Middle Eastern countries that were under the colonial rule of the West. A central part of Orientalism was to show the inferiority and otherness of the Orient in comparison with the Occident to justify colonialism (Said 1978, 39). According to David R. Jansson (2003), Orientalism also takes place within nations. This internal Orientalism “involves the othering of a region within the state and the simultaneous production of an exalted national identity and subordinate regional identity” (351). The internal other is, however, stronger than the external other as the othered region has access to important national institutions and can thus defend itself better. The people of the othered region can even use “reverse othering” by claiming that their region is superior and the nation is inferior (351–52). Despite its better ability to defend itself, the internally othered region is more likely to suffer longer from the label of inferiority. Despite shifts of power between regions within the nation-state, the internal other is often consistently represented in the national consciousness (351–52). Thus, the stain of inferiority is hard to wash away in a national setting.

The vaguely placed countryside of *Kuutamonaatti* can be seen as an exception in the traditions of cultural representations of the rural in Finnish popular film. The events of the film take place in an obscure place composed of a geographical generalization of Finnish rural regions instead of a certain Finnish county with distinct local habits and a distinguishing dialect. The central driving force seems to be the confrontation between the capital region of Helsinki and its urban way of life and the vast rural hinterland outside the capital.

The cultural representations of the Finnish countryside created by *Kuutamonaatti* mirror the urbanization of Finnish society. In the film, the traditional conception of rural regions and their role in nation-building are discarded and replaced with the idea of a rural other that no longer fits into the national self-image. From the point of view of internal Orientalism, presenting the rural as inferior and subordinate to the city can be seen as a way to justify the birth of urban culture in Finland in the latter half of the twentieth century. *Kuutamonaatti*, however, was not the first popular film to reject the rural in national identity-building. The immensely popular new wave Finnish film *Käpy selän alla* (Skin, skin, 1966) premiered in the middle of the fastest urbanization period of the nation, and it portrays the rural as merely

beautiful, natural scenery for a camping trip of four urban youngsters (von Bagh 2005, 276).

THE BACKWARD RURAL

The countryside depicted in *Kuutamonaatti* is steeped in traditions from the past, and gray log cabins underline the sleepy backwardness of the silent rural space. The film has few urban images, but their contrast to the rural is great. The urban scenery underlines mobility and good connections, such as different types of transit and liminal spaces: an airport, a busy highway, and a noisy shopping mall (see Zukin 1991). The vehicles used by the urban characters of the film also signify the difference between the rural and urban. Anni's manager drives a Range Rover SUV, which in the context of the late 1980s was a notably expensive car in Finland. The car represents a wealthy and modern urban character who knows the symbolic value of commodities and their role in Western culture (Mitchell 2000). Top model Anni uses an airplane as her means of transport at the beginning of the film, which underlines her international and modern lifestyle. In comparison, Arvo uses traditional rural means of transport such as a kick-sled, a bus, and an old tractor. Arvo, however, knows the value of status symbols. This is illustrated in a scene in which he calls his red tractor "Verrari" after the Italian sports car Ferrari. In fact, the status symbols of modern consumer culture are known at the Kyyrölä farm, even though its residents do not possess them.

Kuutamonaatti distinguishes between the wealthy urban characters that own modern status symbols, and the rural ones who do not. This divide can be seen as representing the rise of consumer culture, which had made consumption more acceptable in Finland. At the time of the premiere of *Kuutamonaatti* in 1988, the rise of consumerism was also associated with Finnish yuppie culture, which arose in Helsinki and followed the American example by underlining the urban way of life and its patterns of consumption. In Finland, the counterforce to the yuppies were the *juntit*, which can be translated as the hillbillies or rednecks, who lived in rural areas and followed traditional values (Schmidt 1986, 292–94; Yle 2008a, 2008b). In the film, Anni's character can be seen as representing yuppie culture with her superficial, fashion-centered, urban lifestyle, whereas rural Arvo is an obvious *juntti*.

According to Clover (2015), showing class differences through commodities such as cars is typical of urbanopia films, which underline the privileged nature of the city people who are taking advantage of their rural cousins to live a luxurious life in

the cities. This class conflict works also as the central moving power of these films. The civilized and rich urbanites are supported by society in many ways, including the legal code and the police force. In rural horror, the privileged urban heroes must, however, confront rural poverty “without the protection of the judicial system and its coercive apparatus—to face the victims of one’s class comforts without recourse to the police” (129, 131–32). *Kuutamonaatti* also follows this convention. The police come to investigate at the very end of the film after the rural aggressor has been defeated by the urban heroes.

According to Murdoch and Pratt (1997, 51), representing the countryside as an unchanging homogenous space, as a sort of open-air museum, is typical in the British context of constructing rural otherness. However, representing the countryside as an old-fashioned other is not always negative; it can highlight the ideal, pure, and original national culture that has disappeared from the cities (ibid.). The representation of the countryside in *Kuutamonaatti* is nevertheless far from the rural idyll. Within the film, the rural people are depicted as living in a different time and reality outside of modernity. In the context of the film, the countryside creates a clear counterpoint to city life, as an undeveloped backwater from the past. However, the rural inhabitants do not live in a vacuum. A scene in which Arvo reveals that he has been following Anni’s scandal in the newspaper and then states that “everything is known” underlines how the modern media was able to reach even the most distant village in Finland. According to Duncan (1993), connecting time and space to each other is central in creating internal otherness: people who live in different places in the same society can share common characteristics and have the same opportunities, but living in different places effectively separates them from each other, and puts them in positions that make it seem that they live in different times (40).

GENDERED RURALITY

The countryside has been traditionally depicted as a male-dominated space. Nevertheless, this claim has been questioned. The representation of the rural man has been challenged by both women and urban men. According to Brandth (2002, 191), rural men are not represented as more capable and active, but they are often portrayed as backward, lonely, vulnerable, and marginalized. Brandth and Haugen (2005) claim that rural men are at a disadvantage compared with urban men in a society where urban masculinity is the norm to which rural men must adapt and with which their masculinity is compared. In *Kuutamonaatti*, Arvo Kyyrölä’s character

exemplifies the problems of rural men in modern society. Arvo seems to live on the margins of society: he is a man of limited means who brews his own alcohol and seems to have a drinking problem. He is a lonely man who has obvious difficulties interacting with the opposite sex, and he makes no impression on international top model Anni. Arvo's problems with women are demonstrated in a sequence in which Anni has just left the Kyyrölä's farmhouse after trying to phone manager Carli without success. Arvo follows Anni through a doorway where he fumbles with a pocket camera while trying to take a photo of her as she is leaving the yard with her corgi, Ebba. Arvo then asks Anni to pose next to his tractor "Verrari" and to avoid getting dirty from the grease on the tractor. Arvo's comical attempt to have a photo session with Anni quickly changes to Arvo's anguished story about a friend who had slit his wrists because of heartbreak. Simultaneously, Arvo comes closer to Anni, lowers his voice, and hints at the possibility of intercourse while his mother is asleep. Arvo then gropes Anni, who, in turn, hits him; then he is bitten by Ebba. Finally, Anni escapes with her dog, and Arvo shouts after her, "Whore."

Despite the comedy, the sequence depicts the despair and deviance of rural men and their inability to find a partner in a Western world that sees urban masculinity and gender equality as norms. The film creates a cultural representation of young women leaving the countryside, and the only rural woman who remains is the old mother of the Kyyrölä brothers. The biased sex ratio is further underlined in a scene in which Anni looks inside a local bus filled with unattractive and grave-looking men.

For Clover (2015), the urban in urbanoia films is always female, whereas the rural is male. Even tall and healthy city men are depicted as effeminate: concerned about their appearance, physically weak and incompetent, and unfamiliar with the hard facts of rural life, such as animal slaughter or the use of guns. Instead of being do-it-yourself types, urban men are too dependent on buyable services. In the face of extreme stress, they burst into tears. According to Clover, effeminacy has always been a worry connected to hyper civilization and to the fear that people in cities have become too soft. In rural horror films, the "hypercivilized urbanite incarnate" is a woman in high heels. She is a character that is naturally the potential victim of rape by savage rural men, and thus the urban woman is the ultimate embodiment of the fragility of civilization. In contrast to effeminate urban characters, rural men are portrayed as masters of manly skills, such as repairing cars, using guns, or skinning animals. They are also prone to brute violence and pose an immediate threat to urban heroes, which demands that they be men in order to create a credible enemy

image and which also justifies their annihilation at the end of the film by the urban heroes (160–61).

For Clover (2015), the sexual act of rape is central in the gendered rurality of urbanoia film. The female city has metaphorically raped the country by spoiling the landscape, its rivers, or even its way of life for the betterment of the city. The male country responds with a literal rape of feminine urban people. This leads to a film with a double axis where the metaphorically raped are fighting against the literally raped. In this gendered battle, the question is whether the urban women can degenerate to the brutal standards of the rural men. According to the conventions of these films, they can. The role of the “final girl,” who has suffered severely at the hands of her pursuers, is to kill her tormentors, whose vile acts have washed away the guilt felt by urban viewers over the urban dominance of the rural (35, 162–63).

The representation of gender roles in *Kuutamonaatti* follows the pattern pictured by Clover. The gendered urban–rural conflict culminates in Arvo’s attempt to rape Anni, a top model in high heels, the highest incarnation of the effeminacy of the city. In opposition to the weakness and marginalization of the rural men, the two urban male characters of the film are described as more eligible than Arvo and his animal-like brother. Anni’s manager, Carli, is immune to her advances on him, whereas Arvo is obsessed by Anni. Anni’s brother Johannes, on the other hand, is more sophisticated in wielding violence than the Kyyrölä brothers. He, for instance, builds traps based on the use of electricity, like the popular action hero of the American television series from the 1980s *MacGyver*. At the end of the film, the urban heroes overcome the rage of their brutal rural pursuer; Anni makes the final decision to kill Arvo, which emphasizes the notion that the backward rural man is no match for urban men, and especially not for urban woman.

THE FINNISH HILLBILLY

At first sight, the character of Arvo Kyyrölä seems to be solely based on negative Finnish stereotypes of backward rural men with their rubber boots, kick-sleds, and stories about moonshine. These points were also noted in contemporary film reviews (Elonet 2013c). Nevertheless, Arvo’s character resembles the stereotyped, uncivilized, simple, and often violent hillbilly characters of Hollywood lurking near unsuspecting urban dwellers just to find an opportunity to hurt them. This twentieth-century image of the American hillbilly has been based on three related but separate literary and illustrative traditions of the poor whites of the southern backcountry that are older than the United States itself (Harkins 2004, 13; see also

Isenberg 2016). In American film conventions, hillbillies are portrayed as poor and old-fashioned. According to Williamson (1995), the backwardness, potential for violence, and disregard of modern values can also make the hillbilly a humorous figure. This element of humor is also noticeable in Arvo's character and behavior.



Figure 1. Arvo Kyyrölä. Screenshot from *Kuutamonaatti* (The moonlight sonata). Published with permission by Kansallinen audiovisuaalinen instituutti (National Audiovisual Institute), Yleisradio Oy (the Finnish Broadcasting Company), and Kari Sorvali.

Arvo's character bears a resemblance to the hillbilly stereotypes of Hollywood, starting with the heavy-equipment manufacturer CAT cap he wears: a similar cap of a different color was worn by one of the violent characters in Dennis Hopper's film *Easy Rider* (1969). This may be a coincidence, but it is more likely that it was a tribute to Hopper's work. According to Williamson (1995, 2, 27), hillbillies are also consciously or unconsciously opposed to modern society and its consumerist values. The American hillbilly character is anti-capitalistic by nature. He is lazy or inert or an outlaw living on the edge. Capitalism induces people to follow the virtues of work and to condemn the social evils that hinder efficient production, such as drinking, and social indiscretions, such as murder, bastardy, or the act of roaming freely in the forest instead of doing work. In addition, hillbillies stand against the collective imagery of self-control and discipline. The role of the hillbilly is to act as a warning sign for decent citizens to follow the ideals of the urban economy (26–27).

Williamson's notions of the hillbilly as a character that opposes the discipline demanded by modern societies built on the market economy comes close to the ideas of Michel Foucault about the growing role of control in modern society. In his work *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault (1991) claims that one central aspect of modernization is the growing degree of control by the authorities over the minds and bodies of the citizens. According to him, discipline is needed in modern societies to create "docile bodies" to serve the needs of the modern industrial age, where the ability to function in classrooms, military units, and factories is demanded from the individual. The hillbilly character as such seems to oppose these growing demands for discipline in modern society; thus, he can also be seen as the universal embodiment of the rural opposition to urbanization and anything modern.

In *Kuutamonaatti*, Arvo's character follows the traditions of anti-modern and anti-capitalist hillbilly representation. We do not see him doing any regular work. He lives in an old-fashioned log cabin without modern conveniences. His clothing is unfashionable, and his means of transport reflect his poverty and disregard for the modern way of life and the possession of consumer goods such as a car. Instead of following the virtues of work and self-control to gain those material possessions seen as essential to the modern way of life, Arvo seems more interested in drinking moonshine and criminally harassing women.

One typical strain of films with hillbilly representations is that they portray rural inhabitants as living in closed communities, in either a village or a small town where kinship is strongly emphasized and attitudes toward outsiders are hostile (Bell 1997, 103; Eriksson 2010a, 97). In *Kuutamonaatti*, Arvo's home village is a typical tight-knit community where kinship matters. Arvo's cousin, for instance, refuses to call the police when Anni asks him to do so. According to Clover (2015, 125), something is always very wrong in the country families pictured in modern horror films, for example, there is a missing or weak father, who is compensated for by a too-powerful mother figure. In *Kuutamonaatti*, the father of the Kyyrölä family is not seen, but the mother is depicted as a dominant matriarch who spansks her adult son Arvo with a rug beater in the name of Jesus. In urbanioia films, monster-like, deformed, and simple men often play an important part (see Bell 1997, 102). *Kuutamonaatti* is no exception: Arvo's deformed brother, Sulo, howls with the wolves and lives in a cellar; thus, he tightly conforms to the tradition of a hidden backwoods monster.

In films representing hillbillies, home-made alcohol and its consumption have a special role (Williamson 1995, 2, 6, 11), and films such as *Moonshine Mountain*

(1964), are actually so named. Moonshine also plays a vital role in *Kuutamonaatti*. Arvo brags about his homebrew, offers it to Anni, and drinks it himself. He also becomes violent while intoxicated. In addition to the heavy consumption of alcohol, untidiness is a typical characteristic of hillbilly figures. Arvo follows this tradition with his badly cut hair, stubble, and sloppy clothing.

Instead of seeing genders as equal, hillbillies are openly sexist and derogatory toward women; Arvo is no exception. He harasses Anni mentally and physically. According to Bell (1997, 96) and Clover (2015, 162), male rural antagonists are often portrayed as sexually deviant. This deviance can be in the form of incest or murderous rage caused by impotence; on the other hand, the rural aggressor can be a mama's boy like Arvo. Cartwright (2011) sees that in American urbanoia films of the 1970s, gender and sexual deviance, such as same-sex sexuality, gender transgression, rape, bestiality, and incest were attributed to social challenges, such as de-industrialization, and individual problems, such as intellectual disabilities; together these two factors were the core elements in creating the rural anti-idyll (180, 200). In the case of *Kuutamonaatti*, Arvo's odd bachelor deviance is explained through the lack of women in the countryside caused by the mass immigration to the cities, which has made him desperate and sexually deviant. The situation is made worse by the media images of celebrity women like Anni, which inevitably portray women most of all as sexual objects. This objectification makes Arvo's relationship to women even more deviant. This is illustrated in the sequence in which he first asks Anni to pose for a photograph in front of his tractor and then begins to physically harass her. In the film, Arvo also stalks her and, exposes himself, and eventually tries to rape Anni. This behavior is very typical of Hollywood hillbilly representations (Williamson 1995, 2; Bell 1997, 97).

The role of Hollywood should not, however, be over-emphasized in the analysis of *Kuutamonaatti*, as there have been anti-modern and simpleminded hillbilly-like characters in Finnish literature since at least the early twentieth century. The anti-idyllic or realistic portrayal of rural life and rural men has even longer roots going back to the late nineteenth century, when Finnish national writer Aleksis Kivi's novel *Seitsemän veljestä* (translated into English as *Seven Brothers*) was published in 1873. This novel describes seven lazy and wild brothers who leave their home village to live outside the rules of society. At the end of the story, they, nevertheless, become respectable members of their community. Kivi's representation of rural men was criticized as it differed greatly from the then-prevailing romanticized image of rural people that was a part of the cultural nation-building process of the

late nineteenth century. In the idealistic images, rural men were hard-working, religious, and law-abiding (Ahokas 1997, 183), not lazy, indifferent, and aggressive like Kivi's brothers at the beginning of the book.

The idealistic representation of rural men was further undermined a few years before and after the Finnish Civil War in early 1918. Before the war, the rural poor had become politically active and participated in the failed socialist uprising that started the conflict. This tumultuous period also saw the birth of various hillbilly-like characters in Finnish literature. The image of the lazy, simple, and potentially violent rural man was to some extent used in post-Civil War era Finland to show how the rural poor had themselves caused their miserable living conditions through their own inability and ignorance. It was, however, also used to draw a contrast with the old idealistic representations of the common people (Ahokas 1997, 183–84). Most of all, the depiction of the harsh life of the simple-minded and uneducated rural poor was meant to show an understanding of their naiveté in the face of the false promises of the socialist agitators.

The great Finnish authors of their time, such as Joel Lehtonen, Ilmari Kianto, and the Nobel Prize winner for literature, Frans Eemil Sillanpää, depicted the political divide of the nation through the life of individuals rather than social classes or the events of the war itself (Ahokas 1997, 183); thus, they avoided open political allegations on either side. Taking a clear side was also avoided by depicting both sides of the Civil War in a rather unpleasant way, as Sillanpää did in his novel *Hurskas kurjuus* (1919; published in English as *Meek Heritage* in 1938). Many of the characters created by the writers of this era have also been seen in Finnish films. The sad fate of simple small-holder Topi Romppanen and his family in *Punainen viiva* (Red line, 1959, based on Ilmari Kianto's 1909 novel), underlines the exaggerated faith of the rural poor in social democratic election promises before the Civil War. The film *Aapo* (1994, based on Runar Schildt's short story of the same name), for one, depicts a disparaged farmhand who becomes agitated by socialist propaganda and commits atrocities during the Civil War.

In addition to the violent hillbilly-like characters, harmless clown-like figures—the “male rural fool”—have also been seen in Finnish films on a regular basis in the latter half of the twentieth century. Two of the best known of these characters in the 1950s and 1960s were Pekka Puupää (Peter Woodhead) and Severi Suhonen, whose trademark was a strong Eastern Savolax dialect, which worked as the “hick” accent of both characters, both of whom were played by Esa Pakarinen. Further, the famous Finnish comedy character of the untidy and seemingly incapable but

charming Uuno Turhapuro, who appeared in nineteen films between 1973 and 2004, has his roots in the countryside. Pekko Aikamiespoika (Pekko the Bachelor) was also a popular rural fool figure in Finnish television and film productions in the 1990s.

In light of the aforementioned examples, it is clear that anti-idyllic representations of rural men have been part of Finnish culture at least since the latter half of the nineteenth century. The representations of rural men in *Kuutamonaatti* are thus constructed on both the Finnish national imaginary as well as on (Hollywood) hillbilly and redneck stereotypes. This pattern is also similar to the one used in the Swedish film *Jägarna*, in which, in addition to its national elements, other elements are borrowed freely from Hollywood to make the film more internationally marketable and to better meet the expectations of audiences accustomed to dominant Hollywood genre conventions (Eriksson 2010a, 100–101).

Seemingly amusing and harmless stereotyping can, however, have more serious consequences. Stereotypes that show rural men as backward, poor, violent, and sexist can change the attitudes of urban audiences toward the actual social problems of rural communities, such as poverty, by attributing them to the inabilities of rural people. In the Swedish context, the negative stereotyping of Norrland has affected even how its inhabitants are viewed: they are accused of a welfare lifestyle, and the rural poor are thus blamed for being poor (Eriksson 2010a, 100). In the case of *Kuutamonaatti*, the lack of women is pictured as one central social problem of the countryside. At the same time, the film seems to be suggesting the unsuitability of rural men for modern women because of their disheveled appearance, unfashionable clothing, drinking problems, and open sexism. Even though shown in an exaggerated and ironic way, the film can be seen as hinting at a more serious undercurrent, namely that rural men have only themselves to blame for their loneliness and the social conditions in their villages.

REPRODUCING RURALITY

Even though by the late 1980s it was not exceptional to portray anti-idyllic rurality, *Kuutamonaatti* has been a significant Finnish popular film in the sense that it combined both Finnish and American anti-idyllic representations of the rural in an ingenious way. The film also reflects the change in power structures that occurred in Finnish society during the post-war decades.

In the changing social and power structures between urban and rural, the purpose of the rural horror or urbanoia film can be seen to serve the needs of the identity

building of its mainly urban audience through representations of internal otherness. Representing rural people as deviant from urban norms as well as threatening and violent towards city dwellers gives the representatives of the educated urban middle class the possibility to build their identity in opposition to the rural others, who are considered backward, sexist, uneducated, and uncivilized (Eriksson 2010a, 103; Stenbacka 2011, 237). In *Kuutamonaatti*, the representations of the urban spaces and characters are also less idyllic. Anni is running against her will from the globalized fashion world to the safe haven of the countryside at the very beginning of the film. However, the countryside does not offer peace and quiet. The yellow press reaches even the distant Finnish villages, and Anni meets with unwanted attention in the countryside as well. The film seems to imply that there are no safe havens in the globalized, modern world. The peaceful rural idyll is lost forever, as the downsides of urban life are present in the country as well. Certain anti-urban elements of *Kuutamonaatti* construe it as a national “therapy film,” allegorically outlining the status of the urbanizing Finnish national identity at the end of the 1980s, when 80 percent of the population lived in an urban area (Statistics Finland 2009, 72). The former rural inhabitants had settled in cities, but many longed to return to the countryside. *Kuutamonaatti* hit the mark by showing urban viewers that the rural idyll was gone for good and that there was no going back.

It may seem that urbanized and globalized Finland no longer needs the scary rural other in its collection of cultural representations (cf. Löytökoski 2006b). However, the countryside continues to be used as background, as in the recent Finnish film *Rare Exports: A Christmas Tale* (languages: Finnish and English; original title *Rare Exports*, 2010), which, for instance, shows how the international mining industry damages the vulnerable northern natural environment and how poor rural inhabitants manage to create global export goods of Santa Claus-like creatures, when the mining industry has destroyed their traditional way of living and reindeer herding. In this film, the rural inhabitants are pictured as heroes and the Multinational Mining Corporation as the true source of evil. Finnish popular films thus continue to reflect the changing role of rural areas and the urban-rural interplay in an ever-changing global and urban world.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Alanen, Arnold R. 2012. *Finns in Minnesota: The People of Minnesota*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press. 114 pages, illustrations, map. \$16.95. ISBN: 9780873518543 (paperback).

The People of Minnesota series, published by the Minnesota Historical Society Press, now comprises books about thirteen ethnic groups, listed here in alphabetical order: African Americans, Chinese, Finns, Germans, Hmong, Irish, Jews, Mexicans, Norwegians, Ojibwe, Poles, Somalis, and Swedes. Northern Europe is well represented by the Nordic peoples and Germans.

Finns in Minnesota adheres to the series' successful design blueprint. It "tells the group's story in a compact, handsomely illustrated, and accessible paperback" (114). In an unusual move, Alanen decided to describe the Swedish-speaking Finns separately from the Finnish speakers. Readers learn about each group's accomplishments, ethnic organizations, settlement patterns, and occupations. The book includes "a personal story of one person or family, told through a diary, a letter, or an oral history" (114). The volume ends with a representative three-page personal account by Fred Torma.

Alanen covers the necessary bases effectively: immigrant numbers, migration patterns, geographic distribution, charting Finnish presence in the state. He makes it a point of pride to establish firsts: the first rural settlements, the first individuals in the various regions. In so doing the depictions become more personal, the psychological outdoes the statistical, and the human experience trumps the collective trends.

Alanen paints a vivid picture of the most distinctly Finnish settlements and enclaves, such as the Minneapolis "Finntown" and N.Y. Mills, Duluth ("The Helsinki of America"), and, of course, the mining towns on the Iron Range, such as Virginia, Hibbing, Chisholm, Eveleth, and so on. Though large numbers of Finns were engaged in demanding, dangerous mining work, many there were lumberjacks

in timber towns or farmers, particularly in the “cutover” region in northeastern Minnesota. Vast areas “remained in a ‘cutover’ state after [their] extensive tree cover was removed by loggers” (35). The farmers often worked as part-time miners and lumberjacks (36).

Alanen’s specialization, landscape architecture, gives him impetus to marvel at the Finns’ farmsteads and buildings. The Finnish farmers, who were used to a dozen or more buildings on their farms in Finland, often had only four to six structures in the cutover region: “house, barn(s), sauna, root cellar, and privy” (41). If they managed to move beyond subsistence, there might be granary, horse stable, and other buildings, sometimes twelve to fifteen. In Minnesota’s climate, the Finnish dovetailed notches represented a valuable contribution to log architecture. The distinctly Finnish buildings, the *sauna* as well as the field hay barn (*lato*), inspire the author: “Thousands of latos once punctuated the fields of Minnesota’s Finnish settlements; only a few remain today” (42).

Alanen is particularly successful in his discussion of religion, temperance, politics, and organizations of the Finns. The struggle for souls was fierce, in religion as well as in politics. Minnesota had the second-largest presence of Finnish immigrants, second only to Michigan, and it thus perfectly represents virtually all phenomena among Finnish immigrants. There were huge rifts among the religious Finns, humorously illustrated in one subheading in the book: “Several Lutheran Paths to Heaven” (45). Finns had lived under the Lutheran state church in Finland, but in the environment of America’s religious pluralism, even small Finnish settlements in Minnesota might include more than one Lutheran church as well as other Protestant churches; Finns were affiliated with six different Protestant groups and up to thirty congregations. The churches sponsored various programs such as athletic teams and classes in Finnish language, history, and culture. Temperance societies built halls, and ultimately at least fifty Finnish temperance halls emerged in Minnesota.

The political radicalism that Finnish immigrants in North America displayed before the turn of the century and the early decades of the twentieth century was rampant also in Minnesota. The Mesabi miners, for example, participated in numerous spontaneous strikes. In 1904, the Finnish-American Labor League was formed. It changed its name in 1906 to Finnish Socialist Federation and joined the American Socialist Party (ASP). In 1913, the Finnish membership in ASP “peaked at 13,665” of which Minnesota, with “the highest representation from any state” (54), supplied 30 percent.

The protracted struggle between socialist workers on the one hand and Christians and mining companies on the other became increasingly ugly. The Finnish workers became labeled as racially undesirable East-Asians and Mongols. Alanen describes the “reasons for the leftward political tilt of many Finnish Minnesotans” as “complex” (51). He concurs with sociologist Peter Kivisto, who, in his study *Immigrant Socialists in the United States: The Case of Finns and the Left*, emphasized that “Socialism provided [the Finns], not with the antithesis of faith and reason—but with a profound faith in reason” (1984, 92). Finns were famously literate in Finnish and “read radical newspapers avidly” (52). Alanen traces the journey of the “politically progressive Finnish Minnesotans” (61) through their support in the 1930s of Minnesota’s Farmer-Labor Party and their becoming strong advocates of Roosevelt’s New Deal, that is, moving into the mainstream of American Labor and thus exercising influence even beyond their ethnic community.

Surprisingly perhaps, the ideological differences did not dampen their commitment to cooperatives for the common good. Finns formed a great variety of cooperatives—for example, boardinghouses, grain mills, insurance associations, and burial societies, and the most prominent kind—the retail stores. Alanen gives a rich account of the cooperative movement and its organizational challenges.

Subsequent decades, from the 1930s to the present, during which time the Finnish ethnic presence gradually declined and changed, receive adequate attention in the book. Three events in the 1930s are described as unifying the Finnish American community: Finland’s diligence in repaying its loans from the USA; the 300th anniversary of the Finnish presence in New Sweden (Delaware) in 1938; and fundraising for Finland in anticipation of the Soviet assault in 1939.

The Postwar Era chapter describes a number of phenomena of significance to Minnesota’s Finns, notably the America-parcels sent to Finland in the immediate postwar years and being touched by McCarthyism in the 1950s. Other phenomena include events that were caused by the decline of the Finnish communities. Changes occurred within the Suomi Synod, and the Laestadian or Apostolic Lutherans survived schisms; some forty Laestadian churches remain in Minnesota (71).

The Twin Cities in 2010 had 42,910 people of Finnish descent, “the largest concentration of urban Finns in America” (72). New Finnish-oriented activities have developed in the Twin Cities: the Finnish Studies Program at the University of Minnesota was started in 1973, and ambitious archival collections were built at the Immigration History Research Center (IHRC). The St. Urho legend started in 1956 in Virginia, MN, and the first-ever FinnFest USA was organized in Minneapolis in

1983. The Salolampi Finnish Language Village, one of Concordia College's fifteen language programs, was inaugurated in 1978 (with the author of this review as its first dean) by Minneapolis enthusiasts, and it has grown into a vibrant institution with eleven building structures.

Alanen's *Finns in Minnesota* ends with a sixteen-page description of the Finland Swedes of Minnesota. Toward the end of the 1800s, the Swedish-speaking minority of Finland comprised some 12 percent of Finland's population but has since declined to just over 5 percent. Alanen engages in a discussion of how many of the Finns in Minnesota were Finland Swedes, refuting earlier published estimates of 20 percent, yet not offering other reliable estimates.

The Twin Cities and Duluth ultimately emerge as the Finland Swedish centers. Alanen offers interesting statistics of gender distribution and professions of the Finland Swedes in Duluth, presenting detailed analyses of Finland Swedes on the Iron Range and Lake Superior's north shore and an account of their rural and agricultural settlements. Despite relatively low numbers, the Finland Swedes did establish dozens of organizations and congregations. West Duluth was particularly active with its Swedish-Finnish Lutheran Evangelical Church, a "flagship organization," which, however, joined the Swedish Augustana Synod in 1907. Alanen ends the Finland Swedes section with reflections on today that "little evidence remains of the Finland Swedes' presence in Minnesota" (91), but that their contributions merit more study by historians.

Despite its low page count, the volume has an impressive "apparatus": a list of eighteen further readings. Curiously, however, the list is missing, for example, Mika Roinila's (2000, 2006, 2012) writings on Finland Swedes.

The apparatus is further enhanced by meticulously rendered endnotes (97–106) as well as the extensive index (107–11), illustration source details and credits (112), and acknowledgements (113). The book is to be praised for including numerous photographs and vignettes: a total of fifty-eight photographs, most of them with well-conceived and informative captions, and fourteen vignettes, which are boxed-in mini stories. The latter enrich the volume considerably. They allow the author to expand on concepts or phenomena that might not be easily integrated into the narrative but provide often fascinating particulars.

The end result is an impressive volume, truly compact, incredibly comprehensive, stimulatingly versatile, and written in a style at once academically succinct and popularly accessible. This thin book of 114 pages is simply huge.

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Kostiainen, Auvo, editor. 2014. *Finns in the United States: A History of Settlement, Dissent, and Integration*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. ix, 342 pages, illustrations, appendix. \$34.95. ISBN: 9781611861068 (paperback).

This ambitious, substantive book, published more than half a century after A. William Hoglund's *Finnish Immigrants in America: 1880–1920* (1960), considerably broadens and deepens its predecessor's chronological, topical, and disciplinary frameworks. Fittingly, contributors include several—Arnold Alanen, Paul George Hummasti, Reino Kero, Peter Kivisto, Auvo Kostiainen, and Keijo Virtanen—who, in the 1970s, joined with now deceased, distinguished colleagues—Hoglund, Michael Karni, Matti Kaups, John Kolehmainen, Varpu Lindström, Douglas Ollila, and others—to launch a series of studies illuminating the Finnish American experience. Their collective scholarly efforts, ably complemented by a younger generation, are appropriately invoked, augmented, and sustained in the present volume.

Coalescing in presentations at Finn Fests, Finn Forums, and particularly a 2009 conference on “Finnish-American Immigrants in Transition” held at the Institute of Migration in Turku, *Finns in the United States* consists of twenty-one essays, thoughtfully organized into nine parts. The first part, an Introduction, situates and ponders historiography through a pair of essays: Jon Saari's “Updating and Rethinking the Finnish American Story” and Auvo Kostiainen's “Interest in the History of Finnish Americans.” Distinct yet interrelated, they trace the particular individuals, motives, and institutions bound up with funding and doing Finnish American historical research. Amateur historical societies, Finlandia Foundation, the Immigration History Research Center, the Finnish American Heritage Center, and the Institute

of Migration loom large, as do chronologies of their respective partisans' relationships with the romantic/filiiopietistic, radical, conservative, and revitalization/"new ethnicity" movements and stances more broadly affecting our understanding of immigrant/ethnic life in the United States.

Saari comments further on the notable attraction of non-Finn labor and architectural historians, respectively, to Finnish American rural and working class activists, and to the longstanding, widespread presence of Finnish American log buildings. Meanwhile Kostiainen concludes by identifying worthy yet previously neglected gaps. One of them, the post-World War II period, commendably figures in the essays that follow, as many contributors not only comment on historical developments extending to the present but also recognize that significant occurrences in the Finnish American past continue to influence contemporary individuals, organizations, and events. Exploration of the other major lacunae noted by Kostiainen, the historical dimensions of "folklore, ethnology [. . .] material culture and literature," remains conspicuously absent (a point to which I will return).

The book's eight ensuing sections concern the following: persistent debates about the significance of seventeenth-century Finns in the Delaware Valley; migration and settlement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century; the organization of immigrant communities; their cultural activities and institutions; the continuous minority presence of Finland-Swedes; ongoing connections with Finland, including return migration; the retention, loss, revitalization, and transformation of Finnish American identities across generations; and informed speculations about the Finnish American future.

The historian's core disciplinary preoccupation with dates, numbers, places, events, prominent persons, institutions, and print documents suffuses each subsection. Readers seeking lucid authoritative treatment of enduring historical topics will be satisfied with essays—often effectively laced with statistical tables, images, maps, representative case studies, and profiles of leading figures—illuminating the origins, gender, and occupations of immigrants; their regional clustering in "Finn Towns"; and their sometimes contentious involvement with various leftist and labor organizations, the temperance movement, community halls, cooperatives, churches (especially Suomi Synod and Laestadian Lutheran but also other denominations), and the publishing of newspapers, magazines, and books.

The grounded emphases characterizing these accounts appropriately commingle with interdisciplinary attention to airier "social imaginaries," as the elusive yet undeniably influential historical force of ideas, ideology, symbols, artistic

representations, identity, memory, and heritage merit recurring consideration. Accordingly, internal and external stereotypes of Finns as “Mongolians,” drunken knife-fighters, “Reds” and “Whites,” along with dreams of a workers’ paradise and of mythic Karelia, wartime and postwar conceptions of “brave” and “honest” Finland, notions of who is or is not a “real Finn,” and the acceptance or rejection of St. Urho resonate in several essays, especially those by Erik Hieta, Peter Kivisto, and Johanna Leinonen.

Admirable for its expansive scope, varied perspectives, solid research, and distinguished contributors, *Finns in the United States* is not without flaws. Consider the confusing appendix, “For Further Reference.” Whereas kindred sweeping anthologies typically append categorized listings of essential sources, this particular guide to references, for which no explanation is provided, appears to be limited to sources figuring in the foregoing essays—hence conveying impressions that, for example, the massive Finnish American archival holdings of the Immigration History Research Center are limited to a few collections on cooperatives and leftists; the *New Yorker* belongs among essential “Newspapers and Periodicals” while *New World Finn* does not; and that sixteen inexplicably selected titles seemingly comprise the extent of Finnish American “Memoirs, Travel Descriptions, Belles Lettres.”

The book’s cover likewise obscures its contents. Although an alluring image featuring a roughly equal number of men and women from a Finnish American gymnastics society augurs gender balance, the book’s contributors include only one woman, Johanna Leinonen. Her lively essay on Finnish American families, based on interviews with thirty-five women in Minnesota, may justifiably prompt more than a few readers to wonder about the extent to which they encounter *his* story at the expense of *hers*.

Returning to Kostiainen’s introductory mention of gaps in the historical record, it is worth noting that one of the missing topics, Finnish American literature, has been explored chiefly by women, especially through a series of anthologies: Aili Jarvenpa’s *Sampo, The Magic Mill: A Collection of Finnish American Writing* (1989); Beth Virtanen’s *Landscapes and Soulsapes: On the Literature of Finnish North America* (2007) and *Finnish-North American Literature in English: A Concise Anthology* (2009).

The neglected historical topic of folklore, ethnology, and material culture likewise involves many customary and material practices, especially handwork and foodways, which are the fundamental province of women. In this regard, a trio of widely shown and reviewed documentary films made by respected scholars who prominently featured women’s traditions go unmentioned: Michael Loukinen’s

Finnish American Lives (1982) and *Tradition Bearers* (1983); Thomas Vennum's *At Laskiainen in Palo Everyone is a Finn* (1983). Yet Kostiainen's citation in a note of Yvonne Lockwood's *Finnish-American Rag Rugs: Art, Tradition, and Ethnic Continuity* (2009) as an exemplary and needed historical study is to his credit.

Crucially, the rich documentation both Lockwood and aforementioned filmmakers corralled was hard-won through sustained ethnographic and oral historical field research with "ordinary" people about whose lives and practices no prior accessible data existed. In contrast, archives and libraries holding print publications, personal papers, census figures, government documents, and organizational records overwhelmingly formed the basis for essays in *Finns in the United States*. Perhaps this partially explains why the book's section on Finland's minority residents includes only Mika Roinila's excellent "Finland-Swedes in North America" and nothing about Sámi immigrants from Finland and their descendants. Sámi were "invisible" in census data, and both stigmatized and subjected to assimilation. Although changes are afoot, evidence acquired through ethnographic documentation has scarcely figured in the work of historians—and the same is largely true for non-print media. The treatment of Finnish American folk and vernacular music in the current volume offers a case in point.

Keijo Virtanen's "Finnish Identity in Immigrant Culture"—deservedly characterized as "finely crafted" in Saari's introduction—takes on the unenviable mammoth task of chronicling the schools, sports, theater, and music of Finnish Americans in a single essay. Marshaling an unruly mass of evidence, and wisely concluding at 1940, he does a fine job of portraying activities bound up with individuals and organizations whose activities are apparent in historians' preferred sources. Those sources, however, do not include an abundance of sound recordings made by Finnish American musicians, their reissue on numerous annotated LP and CD recordings, and their historical explication through publications based on discographic, ethnographic, and oral historical research. A short list of relevant available publications with a pre-1940 focus includes the following: Pekka Gronow, *Studies in Scandinavian-American Discography, volumes 1-2* (1977); Simo Westerholm, *Reisaavaisen laulu Ameriikkaan: Siirtolaislauluja* (1983); Joyce Hakala, *Memento of Finland: A Musical Legacy* (1997); Gronow, Westerholm, and Toivo Tamminen, *Viola Turpeinen, American hanuriprinsessa, volume 1 1928–1929* (2002); Hakala, *The Rowan Tree: The Lifework of Marjorie Edgar, Girl Scout Pioneer and Folklorist* (2007); "Finnish-American Songs and Tunes from Mines, Lumber Camps, and Worker's Hall," special issue, *Journal of*

Finnish Studies (2010); and Silja Pitkänen and Ville-Juhani Sutinen, *Hiski Salomaa: Värssyjä sieltä ja täältä* (2011).

Despite having leveled equal measures of criticism and praise, I must stress in closing that *Finns in the United States* is a landmark work built upon years of dedicated toil by assiduous, gifted researchers. Attractively printed, affordably priced, accessibly written, brimming with thoughtful authoritative essays, it merits a wide readership and canonical status. And best of all, its explicit and implicit omissions will surely spur further research.

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James P. Leary

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Leary, James P. 2015. *Folksongs of Another America: Field Recordings from the Upper Midwest, 1937–1946*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. xxi, 430 pages, illustrations, map, 5 audio discs, 1 DVD. \$60.00. ISBN: 9780299301507.

Folksongs of Another America is the story of how, between 1937 and 1946, three dedicated song collectors made more than 2,000 recordings of folk performers among the ethnic groups settled in the Upper Midwest. The book (actually much more than a book) represents a significant achievement in the rich story of American folk song and tune collection. It interrogates, as perhaps no other book has, the phenomenally rich communities of ethnic folk performers in the Upper Midwest during the 1930s and 1940s—particularly among the Scandinavian populations. The most significant achievement is the presentation of ethnic songs in their native (“foreign”) languages, as well as the tremendous cross-pollination between ethnic European, Native American, African American, and Anglo American language and culture. This is not merely a “book”; it is a project borne out of devotion, savvy, memory, and professional expertise that—through the coordinated efforts of scores of dedicated individuals—resulted in a multi-media scholarly production of prodigious breath and monumental significance to ethnic and folkloric studies. However, the value and discovery of this “book” is not limited to professional folklorists or graduate students in folklore or ethnomusicology. James Leary tells this grand story in a way that makes this book completely accessible to all readers. Throw in the five compact discs and one DVD that accompany the book and the circle of engagement is complete.

The book begins with a personal story describing how Leary’s fascination was awakened when, as a boy, his father took him to the Buckhorn, a bar and café repository of fantastic taxidermy, assorted oddities, and “the world’s largest assortment of

odd lumberjack musical instruments” (xiv). The collection of instruments included “guitars, mandolins, and fiddles fashioned from cheese and cigar boxes, an elongated tin trumpet, a steel triangle, a bowed saw, a single-string bass fiddle cobbled from a shovel handle and a flour bin, a pitchfork fitted-out similarly and more” (xiv), illustrating again that people are going to make music—no matter what. Here, Leary experienced his first exposure to the musical legend of Otto Rindlisbacher (the only performer recorded by all three of the collectors featured in this book) and other folk performers in the Rice Lake area. He goes on to describe his progress toward a career as one of the most distinguished and authoritative folklorists in America (University of Wisconsin professor of folklore and Scandinavian studies, coeditor of the *Journal of American Folklore*, and Fellow of the American Folklore Society, and author of significant and prize-winning films and publications, not the least of which is *Midwest Ramblin’: The Goose Island Ramblers*). It becomes clear that Leary’s interest never strayed very far from the Buckhorn, and this book offers a rich testimony to the happy combination of professional prowess and the simple power of roots.

The prodigious work done by James Leary, on the shoulders of three great collectors and brought to fruition through the expertise and labor of folklorists, editors, artists, translators, sound engineers, archivists, and other dedicated professionals, brings to light hundreds of songs and tunes, in over twenty-five languages, that would otherwise be lost to the public. Like many another great revelation, this one has a story, and James Leary tells it arrestingly. Between 1937 and 1946, three collectors—one a giant in the field, another an experienced professional, and the third an amateur—recorded over 2,000 songs and tunes in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. The emphasis here is the Upper Midwest, particularly relative to the American preoccupation with the mountains of the Southeast and the plains of the West and Midwest. (The “Another” of the book’s title underscores the relative absence of attention paid to the songs and tunes of the Upper Midwest, relative to, say, the mountains of Appalachia or the plains of the West.) Alan Lomax, one of the great collectors of the twentieth century, recorded over a thousand songs in Michigan (and a small number across the border in Wisconsin); Sidney Robertson, a protégé of Charles Seeger and working under the auspices of the Library of Congress, recorded widely in northern Wisconsin and Minnesota; Helene Stratman-Thomas, a University of Wisconsin instructor inexperienced as a collector but working with the help of Lomax and also vastly advantaged by her status as a native, recorded widely in her Wisconsin. The task was enormous. As Leary describes it, the collectors undertook “challenges of restoring sound on deteriorating discs, deciphering

songs in more than two dozen languages, tracking down biographies of hundreds of scarcely documented performers, and determining the often murky provenance of as many songs and tunes" (xviii).

The result is certainly one of the greatest ethnomusicological collections in our history, except that it remained largely unknown, as a result of practically discriminatory restraints against producing folk music in any language other than English, as well as an unfortunate if benign desire in America to underrepresent the contributions of different ethnicities in favor of the "melting pot" conceit. (One other factor of the times was the squeamish reticence to release "blue" material, although, as made evident in Leary's selections, the collectors themselves never shied away from the "vulgar.") While some of these collections were made available, the rest (and all the hundreds of foreign language songs) remained recorded but, for the public, unknown. As Leary puts it, this exclusive emphasis on English-language recordings made it "as if the majority of songs they recorded simply did not exist" (3). This book (this production) is Leary's attempt to honor the three collectors and to at last redeem the project and restore the collection to the original intents of the collectors and their sponsors. As Sidney Robertson reported, Charles Seeger told her to "record everything." That is what she did. It is what all three did, and this project at last brings that vision and that labor to fruition.

Folksongs of Another America is arranged in six sections, five accompanied by compact discs and one a DVD reproduction of the silent color film made by Lomax. Of the 2,000 performances recorded by the three, Leary has chosen 186 to represent the respective collectors and collections. The first section of the book is "Pigtown Fling," featuring Sidney Robertson's recordings of Finnish, Scots Gaelic, Serbian, and lumberjack performers collected in Wisconsin and Minnesota in 1937. Next is "The River in the Pines," Lomax and Robertson recordings of the Wisconsin Lumberjacks (from Leary's home town of Rice Lake) at the National Folk Festivals in 1937 and 1938. "Harps and Accordions" presents Lomax's Michigan recordings of Finnish, French Canadian, German, Irish, Lithuanian, Ojibwe, Polish, Swedish, and lumberjack performers. (This was Lomax's only recording of northern woodlands Native American songs.) The next section, "Alan Lomax Goes North," describes the content of Lomax's silent color documentary film. The last two sections, "When the Dance is Over" and "My Father Was a Dutchman," describe the recordings made by Helene Stratman-Thomas throughout Wisconsin in 1940, 1941, and 1946. The Stratman-Thomas section provides the greatest ethnic collection of all: Finnish, French Canadian, German, Irish, Lithuanian, Ojibwe, Polish, Scots, Serbian,

Swedish, African American, Austrian, Belgian, Cornish, Croatian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, Ho-Chunk (Winnebago), Icelandic, Italian, Norwegian, Oneida, Swiss, and Welsh performers. The text of the five sections consists of what Leary calls liner notes to accompany the CD and DVD performances; however, “liner notes” falls dramatically short of what these sections offer. The “notes” include extensive and authoritative discussions of the selections and the performers, including source references, cross references, biographical and historical materials, and anecdotes about the performers and performances, some of them brief and some lengthy. The discography entries identify the performers and the date and location of the recording, in addition to the name of the collector, as well as the Library of Congress designation for each recording. For songs, lyrics in the source language as well as English translations are included. Examples of tasty and fascinating backstories abound, but a few will suffice here as illustrations, particularly ones that illustrate the cross-pollination between Anglo and ethnic music.

- The background in the Finnish section of “Pigtown Fling” includes the story of how Marjorie Edgar (a chronicler of Finnish folklore) collaborated with Sidney Robertson in the recordings of such Finnish magical incantations as “Charm (*loitsu*) for Toothache,” as spoken by Anna Leino (57). Another entry describes Finnish kantele tunes, such as “Heramäen pukki” (Old Man’s Goat) played on the kantele by Matti Perala (63).
- In the notes for “Fisher’s Hornpipe,” the members of Rube Tronson and His Texas Cowboys include, besides fiddler Leizime Brusoe, guitarist Lester Polsfuss, later to be known as Les Paul. The late folklorist, collector, fiddler, and founding director of the American Folklife Center of the Library of Congress, it is also noted, included four of Brusoe’s fiddle tunes in his authoritative *American Fiddle Tunes* documentary. This also illustrates the far-flung power that the Texas cowboy image held for performers everywhere.
- The introduction to “The River in the Pines” section describes the storied musical journey of Otto Rindlisbacker, including accounts of the Wisconsin Lumberjacks’ performances at the National Folk Festivals. Among the more interesting tunes in this section are “Hounds in the Woods,” and the universally familiar “Soldier’s Joy,” played by Otto (incorrectly identified by Lomax as “Otis”) on the cigar box fiddle (81).
- The “Harps and Accordions” section includes Lomax’s only recordings of the Woodland Indians (Native American music during the time being classified

as “tribal” rather than folk). The recording of Ojibwe “Fiddlin’ Indian” Joe Cloud includes notes that the “Red River Jig” had been a “revered, vigorously performed traditional dance for the Canadian Métis and North Dakota’s Turtle Mountain Ojibwe since the late nineteenth century” (104). Notes on the “White River Two-Step” indicate cross-pollination influences from the great Tennessee Cumberland Plateau fiddler Arthur Smith but go on to explain how the Ojibwe modified the Anglo structure of the tune to “assert a musical pattern prominent with the big drum songs of powwows and aligned with the significance of the number four in Woodland Indian culture” (105).

- Many of the songs in the collection come from northern woods lumberjacks. Among the most interesting are some of the risqué songs recorded by Lomax and Robertson. Of particular note are “No Sir,” sung by Michigan lumberjack Bill McBride, who Lomax’s notebook recorded as saying, “It don’t speak it out so plain, but it p’int it out so near that you’ll know what it means.” “The chippies,” he goes on to say will “give me a dollar + a drink to sing it in these places where they ain’t no decent girls” (123). Similarly, “The Alphabet Song,” in “When the Dance Is Over” is a profoundly vivid example of the “vulgar ballads and songs of the northern lumberjacks.” It was recorded by Helene Stratman-Thomas’s associate Robert Draves. According to notes from Stratman-Thomas, “since not all lumberjack songs are intended for ladies’ ears, it was sometimes suggested that I just ‘wait in the car’” (287).
- Other examples of cross-pollination between Anglo American and Upper Midwest Europeans include a version of “The Irish Washerwoman” played in a style that “evokes the musical dialect of village ensembles from Poland’s Poznan region” (152) and “Turkey in the Straw,” a familiar tune in North American traditional fiddling but here played in “inimitable Polish village style” by Tony Strzelecki and an unnamed second fiddler (156). Also included in the Polish section of “Harps and Accordions” is a Polish- and English-language version of “Goldmine in the Sky,” which Leary suggests sisters Edwina and Stephanie Lewandowski learned from hearing Gene Autry sing it on a National Barn Dance broadcast from Chicago’s WLS radio. Leary further notes, in another cross-pollination moment, that Autry’s bands included accordionist Frank Kuczynski, better known as Pee Wee King (158).

- Among the Finnish songs Lomax recorded was “Oli mulla ennen punaset posket” (I Used to Have Red Cheeks). Leary remarks that this is a ring or circle dance song, with “feisty lyrics that might appeal to a self-reliant country girl” (168). The source, Amanda Härkönen, told Lomax, “Ne pyörii, käsistä pitelee kiini. Joo. Kaksin käsin pyöritään, niin ja käsistä pidetään kiini” (They swing, and hold hands. Yes. You whirl it with both hands, yes and you hold hands) (168).

The “Alan Lomax Goes North” section covers the silent color film taken by Lomax and painstakingly edited by James Leary and his Library of Congress technical consultants. Lomax remarked that “there was enough material in the region [the Upper Peninsula of Michigan] for years of work.” To make Leary’s labor (editing down the footage and trying to match appropriate audio with the film images) even more difficult, Lomax did not synchronize the sound recordings with the video; nor did he edit the film into a finished document, or provide accompanying notes. The film left to Leary was “[h]aphazardly indexed, eventually spliced willy-nilly onto a single reel with clips from his earlier fieldwork,” and it “languished in obscurity for decades” (185). Working under these restraints, Leary, using his best judgment as a folklorist and producer, arrived at a coherent and unified final product of selections from the Lomax film, matched with field recordings, voiceover readings from Lomax’s notes and correspondence, and images of text (read by Lomax’s fellow Texan Bill C. Malone). Among the most memorable of the twenty-three segments are Mrs. Otto Rindlisbacher playing hauntingly on the “Viking Cello” songs of Detroit area Serbs, and Finnish performers such as a large man shown leaning on crutches by Lomax’s Plymouth sedan and described in Lomax’s notes (and in Malone’s voiceover) as “John Hyvönen, 73, Pewabic—paralysis in right arm + left eye—square + powerful—a chuckler of huge swelling laughter—a miner for 49 years in the same mine . . . knows a lot more songs than he sang but they are all dirty and he was solid . . . in his refusal to sing them—He says he can stop blood with his formula of Mary, Jesus” (203). Taken together and considered through the lens of its painstaking production, the film is a superb testimony to both Lomax and Leary.

The book is solidly built and handsomely produced, including splendid print artwork and numerous finely reproduced and well-chosen photographs of the performers (and of the collectors). The production quality of the compact discs and of the Lomax documentary is excellent, certainly considering the circumstances. An offering of the Language and Folklore of the Upper Midwest Series, the book is co-published by the University of Wisconsin Press and Dust-to-Digital, in

collaboration with the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress and the Association for Cultural Equity (the visionary project that Lomax himself brought into being). It is certainly recommended for the libraries of institutions with folklore or ethnomusicology programs (or courses), but its value extends far beyond that. Even without the benefit of the sound recordings and the video, the lucid writing, the engaging story-telling, and the compelling nature of the collection narrative make this a book and a project not only accessible to but also important to non-academic readers. *Folksongs of Another America* deserves a place on the bookshelves of universities, cities, and private homes throughout America.

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Savolainen, Ulla. 2015. *Muisteltu ja kirjoitettu evakkomatka: Tutkimus evakkolapsuuden muistelukerronnan poetiikasta* [The remembered and written evacuation journey: A study of the poetics of childhood evacuee reminiscence writing]. Kultaneito XV. Vantaa: Suomen Kansantietouden Tutkijain Seura. 414 pp. 25.00 €. ISBN 9789519451077.

Karelia has long been a region important to Finnish identity. Originally the source of national romantic interest in the late nineteenth century and considered the home of Finnish culture, it has since shifted to embody a new type of Finnish nationalism as a concrete place of nostalgia, formed by the memories and experiences of Karelian evacuees after the Second World War (Fingerroos 2012). The Soviet annexation of much of southern Karelia in the aftermath of the Second World War was an emotional blow to Finland as it was an area that had been crucial to nationalist goals in the creation of a mythic past for the Grand Duchy of Finland, and further the area where Lönnrot had recorded much of the oral poetry from which he created the *Kalevala*. This annexation led to the evacuation of over 400,000 people (more than 10 percent of the Finnish population) from this birthplace of Finnish culture, who were to be settled over the new Finnish border. Many evacuees chose to tell their stories, and scholars have examined these memories and narratives of the evacuation journey. The journey itself has become the primary symbol to embody the reminiscences of Karelian evacuees.

Much research has been done on this evacuee population. In a classic work, Waris, Jyrkilä, Raitasuo, and Siipi (1952) examined the post-relocation adjustment of evacuees in the form of story-telling. Later work focused on cultural changes

within the population, such as the creation of evacuee newspapers and literature, and corresponding shifts in religious beliefs (Raninen-Siiskonen 1999, 18–21). In recent years, there has been much work addressing identity construction, memory culture, and narration. Ulla Savolainen's *Muisteltu ja kirjoitettu evakkomatka: Tutkimus evakkolapsuuden muistelukerronnan poetiikasta* (The remembered and written evacuation journey: A study of the poetics of childhood evacuee reminiscence writing) offers a previously understudied perspective on the Karelian evacuation by looking at the narratives and memoirs of those who were children during the journey. Savolainen is the first to examine how child evacuees tell their memories of the experience decades later. She aims to understand the narrative strategies used in writing the reminiscences and to analyze how the authors reflect on and bridge the gap between a childhood and childhood home that is remote both in time and space.

The primary sources the book draws on are autobiographical memory narratives that were written as answers to an open call by the Karjalan Liitto (Karelian Association) published in both the *Karjalan Kunnat* as well as the *Helsingin Sanomat*. Such open calls for written experiences and reminiscences have been collected by Finnish museums and archives since the early 1900s. This call received 182 responses, with a total of 1,906 handwritten pages. The call was very broad, requesting memories, experiences, and stories about the evacuation journey or about the whole evacuation experience, and resulted in many different kinds of responses. Those who experienced the journey are now in their later years (the oldest responder was born in 1923 and the youngest in 1944), which makes this call a timely effort to record the stories of this generation whose memories of Karelia are anchored in childhood.

Savolainen's work is divided into four parts: an introduction, two sections of analysis, and a conclusion. The first chapter introduces the topics of study by providing background on the lost Karelia, including the political conditions of its loss and the cultural ramifications. Savolainen gives a thorough background of previous scholarship on Karelian evacuees, focusing on cultural identity and work on reminiscence writings. Further detail is given on the corpus of child evacuee writings from which a representative sample of narratives was pulled, as well as discussion of the genre of memoir writing.

Chapter two discusses the research methodology used, addressing the role of veracity in reminiscence writing while also summarizing the fields of memory studies and folkloristics. The theories from which she draws to create her analysis span both literature and folklore, making use of theories of oral history, performance theory, and narrative research. Different approaches to memory are also key to her

analysis, where she addresses children's memory, places of memory, and objects of memory, as well as the themes of home and its loss, which are expanded on in later chapters.

The second section consists of chapters three through five. This section addresses narration and temporality. The third chapter analyzes common narrative strategies in memoir writing. Savolainen identifies three narrative strategies used in narrative reminiscing: truth- and history-oriented narrative strategy, reflexive narrative strategy, and literary narrative strategy. These strategies are employed by the narrator's use of specific intertextual connections and how time is addressed within the narrative. These strategies are a means to navigate the narrators' relationships between past, present, and future as they construct narratives of their childhood memories of the evacuation journey.

The fourth chapter analyzes the temporal dimension of past and present exhibited in the reminiscence narratives, and the kinds of performative and rhetorical functions the narratives serve. The order of events within narratives is examined, as well as how memories of events are related by the authors through a focus on the past, positioning the teller as one who experienced the events rather than relating them to the reader at the same time as they are experienced in the narrative. The focus sometimes shifts from that of the child in the past to the narrator's perspective in the present, bringing the experiences of the child closer to the reader while also indirectly asserting that the narrators know more about the events than stated and validating their positions as the ones able to tell the story (Savolainen 165).

The fifth chapter examines the means by which the past world and people are brought forth in narrative and language performance. The focus is on how use of the historical present (the telling of past events in the present tense), dialect, and speech cues maintain the world of the narrative and the child's reality of the memories. Savolainen suggests that these evacuation reminiscences indicate that the difference between referential and non-referential narratives is not merely whether or not the narratives are fictional. Rather, these non-referential, fictional worlds are created as tools for the narrator to return to and immerse within the point of view of the past.

The third section includes chapters six through nine, and it examines the materiality, physicality, and sociality of memory. The sixth chapter examines how memory narratives are materialized through reference to concrete objects, documents, named details, and spaces. Savolainen identifies two main roles of material items as sites of memory. For some, physical diaries and historical documents are the bases of their narratives, which they build systematically and frame as reliable, historical

accounts. Others mention concrete evidence of the past, such as keepsakes, and use such references less often and more spontaneously, only where they are important to the individual's memory of events, but are less central in the construction of their evacuation narrative. Savolainen further addresses the importance of naming places in the evacuation journey narratives. This indicates that place names serve three functions: as a confirmation of individual memory, as a connection between the individual and the collective, and as a means to construct the setting for memory and narrative. Different roles and types of place are also addressed, including change within places, border crossings, and places that transcend borders and time.

The seventh chapter examines the ways cultural and sensory memories are tied to food in the narratives. Many narratives relate the last meal eaten before the evacuation journey, food eaten during the journey, strange food, and a lack of food. This lack or limitation of food contributes to why it is remembered, as, when there is not a lot to go around, people tend to notice who has food and why. Thus, food is also used in the narratives to compare and evaluate different groups of people and power relations.

The eighth chapter examines the social roles of the narrators exhibited in their recollections. The narrators exhibit multiple egos in their memoirs, often identifying as child, refugee, and family member at various points. Key themes in the narratives include children acting as adults, fear, the narrator's role within the family and peer group, and dependence on others (both parents and strangers). Typically, the group with which the narrator's past ego conforms at a particular moment in the reminiscence is the lower pair within a power dichotomy: children under adults, evacuees under homeowners, and poor under rich. These social and power relations can also be tied to more general ethical discourses on understandings of right and wrong.

The ninth chapter concludes by discussing the nature of childhood evacuation reminiscences and summarizing how childhood, the evacuation journey, and memory are materially and physically manifested in the poetics and content of the narratives. The evacuation journey narratives are not only about the evacuation journey, but rather also a means of confronting and accepting past events and constructing identity through the language chosen by the narrators: both dialectal features and narrative devices. Individual experiences affect how we perceive the past, and analyzing the rhetorical and narrative devices used within reminiscence narratives can

reveal new ways of approaching the topic through narrative and performance theories, creating a dialogue between different genres.

Savolainen's book offers a fascinating, multi-disciplinary examination of reminiscence narratives from an evacuation journey that has come to symbolize the experience of relocated Karelians. The book is an edited version of Savolainen's dissertation, and it is clear that she is deeply knowledgeable of this collection of reminiscence writings, having also done different analyses on other narratives in the collection for her master's thesis. An implicit question raised throughout the work is the question of the veracity of the reminiscences; however, Savolainen effectively argues that the issue is outside the scope of this work, where the focus is on childhood as it is constructed at the moment of reminiscing. The book is an important and needed contribution to scholarship on Karelian evacuees and will find readers in those interested in the fields of memory studies, life history, oral history, and narrative.

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